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Diary
of
LADY COWPER.



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Mary Countess of Pomfret

From the original Portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller
at Sunshaneous

Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1814.

Diary of
MARY
COUNTESS COWPER,
Lady of the Bedchamber

TO

THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

1714—1720.

EDITED BY

THE HON. SPENCER COWPER.

SECOND EDITION.

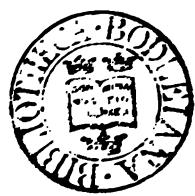


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INTRODUCTION.



HE Volume to which these Observations are a Preface contains the Diary, or rather certain Portions of a Diary, which was kept by Lady *Cowper*, the Wife of Lord Chancellor *Cowper*, while acting as Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess of *Wales*, *Caroline of Anspach*, before her Accession to the Throne as Queen of *George II*. The greater Part of the earlier Portion of this Diary, in the Form of Extracts, copied out by Lady *Cowper's* eldest Daughter, Lady *Sarah*, about the Year 1730, was lent to Lord *Campbell* while he was engaged in writing the *Lives of the Chancellors*, and was used by him freely in his Biography of Lord *Cowper*. So interested was Lord *Campbell* by these Extracts, that he observes, in Page 343 of his fourth Volume, that ‘a charming Diary of the second Lady *Cowper*, beginning at this Time (1714), is

preserved. It remains in MS., but it well deserves to be printed, for it gives a more lively Picture of the Court of *England* at the Commencement of the *Brunswick* Dynasty than I have ever met with.' It may be added to Lord *Campbell's* Remark, that we are singularly deficient in Materials of the same Class for the Illustration of this particular Period. A Sort of Hiatus in our political Memoirs occurs about this Point, which renders almost any Contribution to the Void more than usually acceptable.

The Extracts which were taken by Lady *Sarab*, and which were seen by Lord *Campbell*, were far, however, from being so full as the present Publication, for this is taken directly from the original Diary in the Handwriting of Lady *Cowper*, wherein many Passages omitted by Lady *Sarab* appear in their original Form. Moreover, a Portion of the Diary, from *April* to *July*, 1720, was not transcribed by Lady *Sarab* at all, and therefore not seen by Lord *Campbell*, and indeed it was only discovered at *Panjshanger* so late as last Year. Thus the Diary as here published is as nearly as possible a Transcript of Everything which Lady *Cowper* has left in this Shape. The Names which were in Cypher are here given in full, and the Spelling is somewhat modernised, but that is all the Change it has undergone. As

the Writer states at the Commencement of her Journal, she considered it as a rough Draft only, to be revised and digested if Opportunity offered ; and as the Opportunity appears never to have offered to her, it is published as it remains, without Alteration by others. We have thus a Narrative of ‘the Events worth remembering while she was at *Court*,’ and the Impressions obtained of them on the Instant by a very clever Woman. Nor can it be questioned for a Moment that they are precisely what they purport to be—rough and hurried, but authentic Memoranda of Events which came under her daily Observation.

There is Evidence in the Diary itself to show that the Writer was an accomplished and observant Person. Yet, apart from this, the Sum of her personal Memoirs is scanty, and there is not much to be told of her Life and its Incidents. Her maiden Name was *Mary Clavering*, and she was the Daughter of *John Clavering*, Esq., of *Chopwell*, in the County of *Durham*, who was himself of a younger Branch of the ancient Northumbrian Family of *Clavering* of *Callalee* and *Axwell*, a Race entertaining the Jacobite Predilections which were then so prevalent in the North of *England* and *Scotland*. She herself was born in 1685, and she was married

in 1706 to *William Lord Cowper*, who had then recently been made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and who was shortly afterwards named Lord Chancellor. Her Introduction to her future Husband arose out of some Law Business, on which she had Occasion to consult him at his Chambers, and their Marriage, which very speedily followed, was for some Time kept secret, as the Readers of Lord *Campbell* will doubtless call to Mind. Lord *Cowper*, in a Letter to his Wife of *December 20th, 1706*, as quoted by Lord *Campbell*, says, ‘I am going to visit my Mother, and perhaps shall begin to prepare her for what she must, I hope, know in a little Time.’ Lady *Cowper* herself alludes to the Secrecy which attended her Marriage in the Passage relating to Lady *Harriet Vere*, and her Designs on the Heart of the *Chancellor*, on Pages 33-4 of the present Diary. Yet no sufficient Reason is given for this Concealment, either by Lady *Cowper* or any other Person. She appears, from her Portrait by Sir *Godfrey Kneller* (an Engraving from which is prefixed to this Volume), to have been possessed of considerable personal Attractions, and there is a further direct Testimony to her Beauty in one of the curious little Books of the Day, a *History of the Kit Cat Club*, which contains some Verses in honour of ‘Mistress *Mary*

*Clavering,' as one of the 'Toasts' of the Club,
by Earl Rivers.*

There is also Evidence that she was well read, and of a studious Disposition, in a numerous Collection of Books belonging to her, and now in the Library at *Panhanger*, many of them on rather abstruse Subjects, and which contain, in addition to her Name, copious Annotations in her Handwriting. We find from her Diary that she was in the Habit of translating into French her Husband's Memorials, that they might be intelligible to the Hanoverian King. We can see, from various Passages in this Diary referring to her Husband and Children, that she was an exemplary Wife and an attached Mother. Although she was evidently the Object of much Admiration at the Court of *George I.*, she preserved an unfulfilled Reputation, and she appears to have been held in especial Regard by her Husband, whose Letters to her up to his Death, on the 10th of October, 1723, are quoted in this very Sense by Lord Campbell. She did not long survive this Event, for she herself died three Months later, aged thirty-nine, on the 5th of January, 1723-4.

At the Date of the Commencement of her Diary, then, she must have been in her twenty-ninth Year, and until this Time, which corre-

sponds nearly with the Accession of *George I.*, we can find but few Traces of her Occupations or Existence. Nevertheless, she appears to have been a frequent Correspondent of *Sarab Duchess of Marlborough*, and to have been an active Agent for the Hanoverian Succession, siding always with the Politics of her Husband rather than with the Predilections and Opinions of her Jacobite Kinsmen. She herself tells us in her Diary, that for the four Years previous to its Commencement she had kept a constant Correspondence with the Princess *Caroline*, and had received many, and those the kindest, Letters from her. Whence their Intimacy may have arisen we are not informed, but it is evident that Lady *Cowper* had founded upon it the Expectation—very reasonable in her Case, as the Event proved—that when the *Prince's* came to *England* she would be attached to her Court and Service. After a little Delay and Uncertainty, the Intelligence that she had been named a Lady of the Bedchamber was conveyed to her by Baron *Bernstorff* in person, and in this Capacity she commenced the Diary, of which all that remains is now presented to the Reader.

The first Portion of this Diary—that from which Extracts were, as we stated, made by Lord *Campbell*—extends from *October 1714* to

October 1716. But at this latter Point there is a Break of four Years, up to 1720, when a still more rough and fragmentary Document is appended. This closes on the 10th *July*, 1720, and it is the last Instalment of its Kind. Both Portions, however, of the Diary may be said to cover a Crisis of extreme Importance to our constitutional *Status*, and pregnant with Peril to the Hanoverian Line. The First comprises the Rebellion of 1715, and the Second the Reconciliation of *George I.* and the Prince of *Wales* after that Series of Quarrels which had shaken the public Confidence in their Dynasty. On the First of these Occurrences Lady *Cowper* gives us many additional Details to the Information we possessed already; but on the Second she is not so explicit as to alter the Impressions which are currently received. It is well known that the Jealousy of the *Prince* entertained by the *King* commenced long before the violent Quarrel which occurred at the Christening of Prince *George William*, the Son of the Former; and Lady *Cowper* merely takes up the Negotiations at a Stage when the Flagrancy of the Scandal made a Reconciliation imperative. She was interested in the Result to a great Degree in a personal Sense, for there is Reason to infer that Lord *Cowper* had lost the Favour of the *King* by

his Adherence to the Side of the *Prince*, and that he had resigned the Great Seal in consequence in April 1718. An undated Letter of the *King* to the *Prince*, which is given in Appendix D, appears to refer to an earlier Stage of this Family Feud, which, but for the ostensible Reconciliation which followed, might have fatally endangered the Hanoverian Succession. Lady *Cowper*, in her Diary, describes the Negotiations and final Arrangements for this happy Result, the Rejoicings with which the Event was celebrated by all the Friends of the House of *Hanover*, and the Fears that had been entertained that such a Disunion between Father and Son might eventually terminate in the Success of the *Pretender*.

It remains only necessary to state the Reason for the fragmentary Condition in which Lady *Cowper's* MSS. have reached us. After Lord *Cowper* had quitted Office, a Year or so before his and his Wife's Death, that is to say, in 1722, ‘Reports were spread about that he had coalesced with the Tories, and was even plotting with the Jacobites—Reports for which there was not the slightest Colour.’ When a Discovery was made of *Layer's* Conspiracy, in 1723, to restore the *Stuarts* by a French Invasion, and *Layer* was examined in the *Tower* by a Ministerial Committee of the *House of Commons*, he thought to ingra-

tiate himself with the Government of the Day, and perhaps obtain a Pardon, by implicating some of the discontented Whig Lords, and, amongst others, imputed Complicity to Lord *Cowper*. The Calumny, on Examination, proved to be utterly unfounded ; but before the Imputation had been removed, Lady *Cowper* herself had taken unnecessary Alarm, and destroyed a considerable Portion of her Diary and Correspondence. The Circumstances are thus detailed in a Memorandum by her Daughter, Lady *Sarab*.

In the News Letter, written to the Postmaster at *Hertford*, is the following Article, dated *September 4th, 1722* :—‘ It is reported that the Lord *Cowper* offered to be Bail for the Bishop of *Rochester*, which was so highly resented by a certain Person of Distinction, that he moved for a Warrant to search His *Lordship’s* House. This Letter was sent immediately to my Mother at *Cole Green*, by Mrs. *Bowde*, who kept the Post and Coffee-house at *Hertford* ; and though the first Part of the Article was notoriously false, and the Report to be despised, yet my Mother had so many Intimations and Hints sent her by different Hands of a Design to attack my Father, and try to involve his Character, in the Examination then on Foot relating to the Plot, that she took Fright for some Papers she had drawn up by way

of Diary (a Part of which only remains), and for Papers belonging to the *Prince* and *Princess*, which I have since heard she had in her Hands, relating to the Quarrel in the Royal Family, and not being able to place them in Safety in such a Hurry, she burned such as she thought would do most Harm if discovered, by which many curious Scraps of secret History are probably lost ; and, Circumstances considered, I wonder she had the Courage to preserve the *Princess's* Letters, and so much of her own Diary as is yet remaining.

‘The latter End of *December* my Mother grew much weaker and extremely ill. She lost her Appetite entirely, and at Times her Memory, so that she would speak of my Father as if living, ask for him, and expect him Home. When she recollect ed his Death, it seemed to be with so lively a Grief, as if it had just then happened. In short, she had really what is often talked of, but seen in very few Instances—a broken Heart. She died the 5th of *February*, 1724, four Months after her Husband.’

It appears, from a further undated Memorandum of Lady *Sarab*, that the *Princess of Wales*, then become *Queen*, had some Anxiety in respect of seventy Letters written to Lady *Cowper*, and supposed by her to be still in Lady *Sarab's* Possession. As to this Impression on the Part

of Queen *Caroline*, it is to be noted that Lady *Sarab* observes :—‘All that I have to add on the Subject is, that I was once told by a Person of much Penetration, who is constantly with the *Queen* (though I believe little in her Favour), that by several Things the *Queen* had said unguardedly, she apprehended the great Cause of Her *Majesty’s* Anger and Aversion to me was, that she thought I had some Papers in my Hands that she wished to have only in her own. If there were any such, they were, as I said before, committed to the Fire, and I have None the *Queen* can be in any Uneasiness about, unless she feels some from my retaining Expressions of Friendship she never felt, and Promises I have Cause to think she has no Intention to perform.’

The concluding Expressions of this Statement would seem to imply that Lady *Cowper* was herself aggrieved by some Slight, real or imagined, on the Part of Her *Majesty*, and this must have occurred subsequent to Lord *Cowper’s* Resignation of Office. Thus we have a faint Image of the Life of an amiable and affectionate Woman closing prematurely in Sorrow and Gloom. Her Bereavement by the Death of her Husband accounts chiefly and confessedly for the State of Prostration into which she sank ; but there is still a little Mystery surviving her Death, there

is still a Tag of her Story unravelled, and we have not the Facilities to follow out the Clue. As we have no further Light to throw upon this obscure Passage, we must leave it as it stands, with the Diary itself, to the free and candid Construction of the Reader.





Diary of Lady COWPER.

1714.

THE perpetual Lies that One hears have determined me, in spite of my Want of Leisure, to write down all the Events that are worth remembering whilst I am at *Court*; and although I find it will be impossible for me to do this daily, yet I hope I shall be able to have an Hour or two once a Week: and I intend this only for my own Use, it being a rough Draft only, which, if *God* bless me with Health and Leisure, I intend hereafter to revise and digest into a better Method.

I believe it will be necessary, in the first Place, to recollect what passed in order to my coming into the *Court*: and to give a better Light in that Matter, I must tell that for four Years past I had kept a constant Correspondence with the *Princess* now my Mistress;¹ I had received many, and those

¹ *Caroline Princess of Wales*, Daughter of the Margrave of Anspach, born in 1683, married in 1703 to the Electoral

Prince of Hanover, afterwards *George II*.
Lord Chesterfield says of her: ‘She would have been an agreeable Woman in social,

1714 the kindest, Letters from her. Upon the Death of the *Queen*, after she had done me the Honour to answer my Letter of Congratulation, I wrote another Letter to offer her my Service, and to express the perfect Resignation I had to whatever she would think fit to do, were it to choose or refuse me. This Letter she answered, telling me she was entirely at the *Prince's* Disposal, and so could give me no Promise; but that she did not doubt the *Prince's* Willingness to express his Friendship to me upon all Occasions. By the whole Letter I took it for granted that she had so many Importunities upon that Subject, that she could not take me into her Service, and therefore I resolved not to add to the Number of her Tormentors, and never mentioned the Thing any more. I was the more confirmed in my Opinion when I saw myself treated with such Marks of Distinction, and at the same Time two new Ladies made, and I had heard Nothing; but I knew that the Necessity of Affairs often forces Princes to do many Things against their Inclinations, and I daily received so many distinguishing Marks of the *Prince's* Favour that I had great Reason

if she had not aimed at being a great One in public, Life. She professed Art instead of concealing it, and valued herself upon her Skill in Simulation and Dissimulation, by which she made herself many Enemies, and not a Friend even among the Women nearest to her Person; Cunning and Perfidy were the Means she made Use of in Business.' It must, however, be remembered that Lord *Chesterfield* was a hostile Witness. During the Reign of *George I.*

the Prince of *Wales* maintained a splendid Court, and became very popular. She held a Drawing-room every Morning, and had a Reception at Night twice a Week. Her country Residence was *Richmond Lodge*. Speaker *Onslow* says: 'She was a very wise Woman in what she knew; was an excellent Wife and Mother, had a high Sense of Religion, and carried her State and Dignity with Ease and Decency.'

to be satisfied. Things stood in this Manner 1714
till the Coronation, which was *October 20,*
1714.

I went thither with Lady *Bristol*,² who had still a greater Mind to be a Lady of the Bed-chamber than I had; she told me I was to be one, but durst not then tell me she had heard it from the *Princess* herself. When we came from the *Hall* into the *Abbey* (for we saw every Part of the Ceremony), the Peereffes' Places were so full, that we and several other Ladies went to the Bishops' Benches at the Side of the Altar. I sat next the Pulpit Stairs on the back Bench, and several Ladies coming by me to go nearer the Altar, at last my Lady *Northampton*³ came pulling my Lady *Nottingham*⁴ by the Hand, which Last took my Place from me, and I was forced to mount the Pulpit Stairs. I thought this rude, but did not suppose there had been any Design in it, though we had both been talked of for being Governess to the young Princesses,⁵ and she, I believe, had really solicited for it, and apprehended I had done so too, notwithstanding I had never thought of it. However, her Ill-breeding got me the best Place in the *Abbey*, for

² Elizabeth, only Daughter and Heir of Sir Thomas Felton, Bart., of *Playford*, County *Suffolk*; married in 1695 to *John Hervey*, created, in 1714, Earl of *Bristol*.

³ Jane, Daughter of Sir Stephen Fox, married in 1706 to *George fourth Earl of Northampton*.

⁴ Anne, second Wife of *Daniel*, second

Earl of *Nottingham*, and only Daughter of Christopher Viscount *Hatton*, whose Estates descended to her Son, the Earl of *Winchelsea* and *Nottingham*. She was the Mother of thirty Children.

⁵ Anne, afterwards Princess of *Orange*, and the Princesses *Amelia* and *Caroline*.

4 *Diary of Lady Cowper.*

1714.

I saw all the Ceremony, which few besides did, and I own I never was so affected with Joy in all my Life ; it brought Tears into my Eyes, and I hope I shall never forget the Blessing of seeing our holy Religion thus preserved, as well as our Liberties and Properties.

My Lady *Nottingham*, when the Litany was to be sung, broke from behind the Rest of the Company, where she was placed, and kneeled down before them all (though none of the Rest did), facing the *King*, and repeating the Litany. Everybody stared at her, and I could read in their Countenances that they thought she over-did her High Church Part. But to return to my Place. The Lords that were over against me, seeing me thus mounted, said to my Lord, that they hoped I would preach; to which he answered that he believed I had Zeal enough for it, but that he did not know that I could preach; to which my Lord *Nottingham*⁶ answered, ‘No, my Lord ? Indeed you must pardon me. She can, and has preached for these last four Years such Doctrines as, had she been prosecuted in any Court for them, you yourself could not defend her.’ This he said with such an Air, that my Lord spoke of it to me. That, joined to what my Lady *Nottingham* had done that Day, and

⁶ Daniel Finch, second Earl of *Nottingham*, had held several high Offices, and on the Accession of *George I.* was made President of the Council, but retired from public Affairs in 1716; was one

of the Heads of the High Church Party ; and wrote a Reply to *Whiston*, for which he was thanked by the University of *Oxford*. Died in 1730.

some other little Passages that had happened, opened my Eyes, and showed me how that Family maligned me, and helped to persuade me that it was impossible the *Princes* could think of me.

1714

At the Coronation, my Lord *Bolingbroke* for the first Time saw the *King*. He had attempted it before without Success. The *King*, seeing a Face he did not know, asked his Name, when he did him Homage; and he (Lord *B.*) hearing it as he went down the Steps from the Throne, turned round and bowed three Times down to the very Ground. The Ladies, not walking in the Procession, had no gold Medals.

One may easily conclude this was not a Day of real Joy to the Jacobites. However, they were all there, looking as cheerful as they could, but very peevish with Everybody that spoke to them. My Lady *Dorchester*¹ stood underneath me; and when the *Archbishop* went round the Throne, demanding the Consent of the People, she turned about to me, and said, ‘Does the old Fool think that Anybody here will say no to his Question, when there are so many drawn Swords?’ However, there was no Remedy but Patience, and so Everybody was pleased, or pretended to be so.

I went to the Chapel in the Morning, and

Sunday,
October 24.

¹ Catherine Sedley, Daughter of Sir Charles Sedley, Mistres of James II., who created her Countess of Dorchester for Life. She married Lord Portmore and died at Bath in 1717. She is reported

to have said, ‘I wonder for what Qualities James II. chooses his Mistresses. We are none of us handsome, and if we have Wit, he has not enough of it himself to find it out.’

6 *Diary of Lady Cowper.*

1714.

when it was done, to the Drawing-room; and the *Princess* seeing me, called to me, and said, ‘Did Lady *Effex Robartes*⁸ deliver my Message to you?’ To which I answered, that I had not seen her since her Royal Highness had spoke to her last Night at the Opera. ‘Then,’ said she, ‘I will tell you myself that you have made a Conquest;’ and seeing me blush, she laughed, and said, ‘I am resolved to shame you, or rather to do you Honour. ‘T is Mr. *Bernstorff*,⁹ who never was in Love in his Life before; and ’t is so considerable a Conquest, that you ought to be proud of it; and I, to please him, have ordered him to make you a Compliment from me.’ And with that she went out of the Room.

When I came to the Bottom of the Stairs, I found Mr. *Bernstorff’s* Man, who desired me to name an Hour for him to come to me. I named Four; and Mr. *Bernstorff* came punctually, to tell me that he had Orders from the *Princess* to offer me to be *une Dame du Palais*. I was very glad to

⁸ Youngest Daughter of *Robert Viscount Bodmyn*, and Granddaughter of *John Robartes*, Earl of *Radnor*. The Name of *Effex* borne by her Aunt and herself was probably given in Honour of Lord *Effex*, the Parliamentary General under whom her Grandfather commanded a Regiment of Horse at *Edgehill*.

⁹ The *King’s* German Minister. *George I.*’s principal Favourites were, Baron *Bothmar*, Baron *Bernstorff*, and Mr. *Robethon*. During the whole of his

Reign they exercised the greatest Influence in all Appointments to public Stations, Baron *Bernstorff* especially so. He was the Minister whom the *King* most consulted on foreign Affairs, and he himself aspired to a Seat in the English *House of Lords*. See *Coxe’s Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, i. 153, &c. He was Ancestor of the present able and popular Prussian Ambassador in London (Count *Bernstorff*), and his Countrymen seem to have entertained a very high Opinion of him.

hear this, and told him that I wished it mightily, 1714.
but that I had never made any Application for
it after the Letter I have already mentioned,
because I would not add to the Number of the
Princess's Persecutors ; upon which he made me
a thousand Compliments, both from the *Princess*,
the *Prince*, and himself, and ordered me to go
the next Day to kiss the *Princess's* Hand. I gave
him at the same Time a Treatise ¹ on the State
of Parties, which I had transcribed and translated
for my Lord, in French and English, to give the
King.

In the Morning, by Eleven, I waited upon the ^{October 25.} *Princess*. I found the Duchefs of *St. Albans*² in the outward Room upon the same Errand. She went in first and kissed the *Princess's* Hand, and I followed. The *Princess*, when I had done it, took me up and embraced me three or four Times, and said the kindest Things to me — far beyond the Value of any Riches. There were present the Duchesses of *St. Albans* and *Bolton*,³ Mrs. *Clayton*,⁴ Mrs. *Howard*,⁵ the

¹ This Treatise is given at length in the Appendix to Lord Campbell's Life of Lord Cowper (*Lives of the Chancellors*).

² Diana de Vere, eldest Daughter and eventually sole Heiress of Aubrey, twentieth and last Earl of Oxford of that Family. She was married in 1694, and died in 1742.

³ Henrietta Crofts, natural Daughter of James Duke of Monmouth by Eleanor, Daughter of Sir Robert Needham.

⁴ Wife of William Clayton, afterwards Lord Sundon. Introduced by the Duchefs

of Marlborough to the *Princess*, she became a Woman of the Bedchamber and Mistres of the Robes. She is said to have obtained her Influence in consequence of having discovered the Secret of a phisical Infirmitie which the *Princess* took extraordinary Pains to conceal. Horace Walpole terms her an absurd pompous Simpleton, but Lord Hervey's Opinion of her is highly favourable.

⁵ Daughter of Sir H. Hobart, of Blickling, born in 1688, married to Charles Howard, afterwards Earl of Suffolk. She

8 *Diary of Lady Cowper.*

1714.

Governess, and two or three of the foreign Ladies. The *Prince* also saluted the Duchess of *St. Albans* and me upon our being declared; and we both waited that Night in the Drawing-room.

October 26,

^{27.}

October 26 and 27 passed without Anything remarkable, unless the Duchess of *Shrewsbury*⁶ being named a Lady of the Bedchamber Extraordinary deserves to be thought so. She had solicited the *King* for it, who had asked the *Princess* three Times to do it, and since had told her it would be an Obligation to him. The *Princess* said to me afterwards that the Duchess of *Shrewsbury* was not her own Choice, nor can Anybody reasonably believe she could be, all the World knowing that her Brother had forced the *Duke* to marry her after an Intrigue together; which made a Lady say that the *Duke* had been tricked out of the best Marriage (meaning the Duchess of *Somerset* when Lady *Ogle*),⁷ and into the worst in Christendom. The Duchess of *Shrewsbury* had some extraordinary Talents, and it was impossible to hate her so much as her Lord, though she was engaged in the same ill Design, She had a wonderful Art at entertaining and

went to live in *Hanover*, and became Lady of the Bedchamber to the *Princess* on the Accession of *George I.* She married, secondly, *George Berkeley*, and died in 1767.

⁶ Daughter of the Marquis *Paleotti*, of *Bologna*, and descended, by her Mother, from Sir *Robert Dudley*, natural Son of

Dudley, Earl of *Leicester*. She abjured the Romish Faith in order to be married to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, who was a Protestant.

⁷ The great *Percy* Heiress, Widow of Lord *Ogle*, married to the proud Duke of *Somerset*.

diverting People, though she would sometimes exceed the Bounds of Decency. She had a great Memory, had read a good deal, and spoke three Languages to Perfection ; but then, with all her Prate and Noise, she was the most cunning, designing Woman alive, obliging to People in Prosperity, and a great Party-woman, as I may say from Experience, for after a little Dispute at *Sacheverel's Trial*, and my Lord's laying down the Seals, she forbore visiting me, or speaking to me when she met me anywhere, till the *King's* coming to the Crown.

1714

Then our Acquaintance was renewed by supping together at Madame *Kielmansegge's*⁸ about a Month ago ; but it was shyly till now, for a Conversation happening at Supper, when speaking of the King of *France's* Eating, she was counting twenty Things upon her Fingers that he had eat at a Time.⁹ She was saying, ‘Sire, il mange ceci et cela ;’ on which I said, ‘Sire, Madame la *Duchesse* oublie qu'il a bien plus

* Countess *won Platen*, Wife of General *Kielmansegge*, who died in 1721, created on his Death Countess of *Darlington*. *H. Walpole* says of her : ‘I remember as a Boy being terrified at her enormous Figure. The fierce black Eyes, large and rolling beneath two lofty arched Eyebrows, two Acres of Cheeks spread with Crimson, an Ocean of Neck, that overflowed, and was not distinguished from, the lower Part of her Body, and no Part restrained by Stays. No Wonder that a Child dreaded such an Ogress.’ She died in 1724.

9 *St. Simon* says : ‘Toute l'Année il mangeait une Quantité prodigieuse de Salade. Ses Potages, dont il mangeait Soir et Matin de plusieurs, et en Quantité de chacun sans Préjudice du Reste, étaient pleins de Jus, et d'une extrême Force. Il mangeait de tout sans Exception. Aux premières Cuillerées de Potage l'Appétit s'ouvrit toujours, et il mangeait si prodigieusement et si solidement Soir et Matin, et si également encore, qu'on ne s'accoutumait point à le voir.’

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mangé que cela.' 'Qu'a-t-il mangé donc?' said the *King*. 'Sire,' answered I, 'il a mangé et dévoré son Peuple; et si la Providence n'avoit pas conduit votre Majesté au Trône au Moment qu'elle l'a fait, il nous auroit mangé aussi.' On which the *King* turned to the *Duchess* and said, 'Entendez-vous, Madame, ce qu'elle dit?' And he did me the Honour to repeat this to several People, which did not at all strengthen my Interest with her *Grace*. But upon coming into the Bedchamber all old Quarrels are laid aside for the Ease and Quiet of our Mistress.

October 28.

The *Duchess of St. Albans* and I waited in the Drawing-room, as we had done every Night, to kiss the *King's* Hand upon our Preferment, and this was the first Day we came there. He had forgot that he had seen the *Duchess of St. Albans* before, so he saluted her without Hesitation; but when I was presented, he said five or six Times, 'Oh! je l'ay vue; elle est de ma Connoissance;' and at last the Duke of *Grafton*¹ told him it was upon my being made a Lady of the Bedchamber. So then he said, 'Ouy dà, je le ferai avec Plaisir,' and I was saluted. This Day was passed in Disputes amongst us Servants about the *Princess's* kissing my *Lady Mayoreſſ*, and quoting of Precedents; but Queen *Anne* not having kissed her when she dined in the *City*, my Mistress did not do it either.

¹ Charles second Duke of *Grafton*, Ducheſſ of *Cleveland*, was at this Time a K.G., Grandſon of *Charles II.* and the Lord of the Bedchamber.

Diary of Lady Cowper. II

We went to my *Lord Mayor's*² Show, four of us in the Duchefs of *Sbrewsbury's* Coach, and two with the *Prince's* Lords in one of the *King's* Coaches. We stood at a Quaker's, over against *Bow Church*. I thought I should have lost the Use of my Ears with the continual Noise of Huzzas, Music, and Drums; and when we got to the *Hall* the Crowd was inconceivably great. My poor Lady *Humphreys* made a sad Figure in her black Velvet, and did make a most violent Bawling to her Page to hold up her Train before the *Princess*, being loath to lose the Privilege of her Mayoralty. But the greatest Jest was that the *King* and the *Princess* both had been told that my *Lord Mayor* had borrowed her for that Day only; so I had much ado to convince them of the Contrary, though he by Marriage is a Sort of Relation of my Lord's first Wife.³ At last they did agree that if he had borrowed a Wife, it would have been another Sort of One than she was.

This Day was the *Prince's* Birthday. I never saw the *Court* so splendidly fine. The Evening concluded with a Ball, which the *Prince* and *Princess* began. She danced in Slippers⁴ very well, and the *Prince* better than Anybody.

² The *Lord Mayor* Sir *William Humphreys*, created a Baronet in 1714, when the *King* and Prince of *Wales* dined at *Guildhall*. He was very active in suppressing Jacobite Libels and sending the Hawkers to Prison, for which he received the *King's* Thanks. He was also Mem-

ber of Parliament for *Marlborough*.

³ *Judith*, Daughter of Sir *Robert Booth*. Died April 1705, leaving a Son, who died young.

⁴ That is, the *Princess* danced in low-heeled Shoes, which was not, at that Time, the fashionable Usage.

1714.
October 29.

October 30.

1714.

My Lord and I supped at the Duke of *Shrewsbury's*⁵ with my Lord⁶ and Lady *Wharton*⁷ and Madame *Kielmansegge*, to wait upon the *King*.

Nov. 1.

Supped at my Lady *Bristol's*, to wait upon the *King*. The Duchess of *Bolton* was there, the Dukes of *Kent*⁸ and *Grafton*, Duchess of *Shrewsbury*, Madame *Kielmansegge*, and myself. I never saw the *King* in better Humour than this Night. He said a World of sprightly Things. Amongst the Rest, the Duchess of *Shrewsbury* said to him, ‘Sire, nous sommes en colère contre votre Majesté de ce que vous ne voulez pas vous faire peindre ; et voici votre Médaille qui donnera votre Effigie à la Postérité, où vous avez un Nez long comme le Bras.’ ‘Tant mieux,’ said the *King* ; ‘c'est une Tête à l'Antique.’ But though I was mightily diverted, and there was a great deal of Music, yet I could not avoid being uneasy at the Repetition of some Words in French which the Duchess of *Bolton* had said by Mistake, which convinced me that the two foreign Ladies were no better than they should be.

Nov. 2.

Mr. *Bernstorff* made me a Visit. I desired him to take care of Sir *David Hamilton's*⁹

⁵ Charles Duke of *Shrewsbury*, to whom Queen *Anne* on her Death-bed delivered the Lord Treasurer's Staff, was at this Time Lord Chamberlain. He died in 1717.

⁶ Thomas fifth Baron and first Marquis, one of the Leaders of the Whig Party, Father of the Duke of *Wharton*.

⁷ Lucy, Daughter of Adam Loftus Lord *Lismore*.

⁸ Henry de Grey, Duke of *Kent*, K.G., lived in great Splendour at *Wreft*, in *Bedfordshire* ; was at this Time a Lord of the Bedchamber ; was made, in 1716, Lord Steward of the Household, and in 1718 Lord Privy Seal.

⁹ Physician to Queen *Anne* and George I. He left some curious Memoirs relative to Queen *Anne*, which are still in MS. at *Panbanger*.

being made First Physician, which he promised to do. Went out to carry the *Princess* all my Lord *Bacon's* Works, which she had bade me get her. The Day proved fine, and she showed our English Ladies that she could walk as well as ever the *Princess Sophia*¹ had done.

I brought the *Princess* a Book that Madame *Kielmansegge* had sent me to give her, and after presenting it I understood by Mrs. *Howard* that there was a mortal Hatred between them, and that the *Princess* thought her a wicked Woman. She also told me that her sending it to me was a Design to persuade the *Princess* that she was very well with me, in order to ruin my Credit with her; 'For,' added she, 'if it had not been so, she would have sent it either by the Duchess of *Bolton* or *Shrewsbury*, that are so well with her; but she never stuck a Pin into her Gown without a Design.' *Piloti* told me that she was the Daughter of the old Countess of *Platen*, who was Mistress to the *King's* Father, and had caused the Separation.²

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Nov. 8.

This Day the Duchess of *St. Albans* made Groom of the Stole,³ and Duchess of *Shrewsbury* made a Lady in Ordinary, as we are all.

¹ The Mother of *George I.* *Toland*, who accompanied the Earl of *Macclesfield* on his Mission to *Hanover* with the Act of Succession in 1700, says: 'She, (the Electress *Sophia*) is the most constant and greatest Walker I ever knew. She perfectly tires all those of her Court who attend her in that Exercise.'

² *Elisabeth von Meiffingen*, Countess of *Platen*, Mistress of the *Elector*, Father of *George I.*, was said to have been the Cause of the Separation between the *King* and his Wife *Sophia Dorothea*, of *Zell*, by her Insinuations and Intrigues.

³ 'Though an Office somewhat incongruous in Name, that of "Groom of the

14 *Diary of Lady Cowper.*

1714. My Birthday. Pray God grant that the Rest of my Life may be passed according to His Will and in His Service.

Nov. 15. I came into Waiting. I was ill when I came in, and continued so the whole Week. The *Princess* told me she had seen the Treatise on the State of Parties, already mentioned, and complimented me mightily upon it. In the Evening I played at Basset as low as I could, which they rallied me for; but I told my Mistress I played out of Duty, not Inclination, and having four Children, Nobody would think ill of me if for their Sakes I desired to save my Money, when I did not do Anything that was mean, dishonest, or dishonourable; for which she commended me, and said she thought the principal Duty of a Woman was to take care of her Children.⁴

Nov. 17. Dr. Clarke⁵ came in this Morning and presented the *Princess* with his Books. This Day she expressed a Dislike to my Lady Bristol's

"Stole" is usually combined with the Duties of the Mistress of the Robes when a female Sovereign is on the Throne, as was the Case in the Reign of Queen Anne. The Stole is a narrow Vest, lined with crimson Sarcenet; and was formerly embroidered with Rofes, Fleur-de-lis, and Crowns; but the Office of Groom is a Sinecure.—Dodd's *Manual of Dignities*, p. 138. For further Particulars see *The Book of the Court*, edited by W. J. Thoms, p. 346, and the Letter of the Duchess of Marlborough, printed in Appendix A.

⁴ She did not always act up to this moral Sentiment. See Pope's sarcastic

Lines: "And all her Children bleſt," &c.

⁵ Samuel Clarke, D.D., the great Controversialist, Rector of St. James', published a Work in 1712, entitled 'The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity' which involved him in endless Controversy, and laid him open to the Imputation of not being quite orthodox, and on the Death of Sir Isaac Newton he was offered, but refused, the Place of Master of the Mint. He died in 1729. Voltaire characterizes his logical Powers and tedious Manner by calling him 'un Moulin à Raisonnement.' He was in high Favour with the *Princess*, who repeatedly attempted, but in vain, to induce him to accept a Bishopric.

Project of attacking the Duchess of *Shrewsbury* 1714.
in the *House of Commons* about her being a Foreigner, and consequently incapable of having any Place about the *Princess*.

The Duchess of *Bolton* asked me to go to her House to meet the *Prince*, and play at Cards with all the Ladies of the Bedchamber. But I was in Waiting: the Duchess of *St. Albans* supped out also that Night where the *King* was. She had been made Groom of the Stole the Week before, and so the Duchess of *Shrewsbury* had come into her Place; and now Lady *Bristol* laboured to get in, in the same Manner that the Duchess of *Shrewsbury* had been before. But she has since had a direct Denial.

She spoke to me to give an ill Character of Mrs. *Coke*⁶ to the *Princess*, which I refused to do, saying that I knew no ill of her, so that it would be barbarous to slander Anyone without Cause. She replied that I might say she told me that she was an ill Woman; that her Behaviour at her House was scandalous; that she had seen my Lord *Berkeley*⁷ give her a Letter; and that

⁶ Mrs. *Coke* was the Daughter of Mr. *Hale*, and the second Wife of the Right Honourable Thomas *Coke*, M.P. for Derbyshire, and Vice-Chamberlain to Queen *Anne*, the Sir *Plume* in Pope's *Rape of the Lock*. Before her Marriage Mrs. *Coke* had been one of the Maids of Honour to Queen *Anne*, and if her Picture at Melbourne is to be trusted, a Woman of remarkable Beauty. *Swift* speaks of her as such in his *Journal to Stella*, August

1711: 'Mr. *Coke*, the Vice-Chamberlain, made me a long Visit this Morning, but the *Toast*, his *Lady*, was unfortunately engaged.'

⁷ James third Earl *Berkeley*, a distinguished naval Officer. He was First Lord of the *Admiralty* in 1718 and 1727, and K.G. In the Heat of the Quarrel between *George I.* and his Son, Lord *Berkeley* proposed to carry off the *Prince to America* and keep him there.

16 *Diary of Lady Cowper.*

1714. *Sir John Germaine*,⁸ and *Lady Betty* had both told her that the last Child *Mrs. Coke* had was actually *Lord Berkeley's*. I answered that I thought it was much properer for her to say this to the *Princess* than me, because she could speak of her own Knowledge, which I could not; but she still insisted that she had private Reasons of her own not to do it, which she was obliged not to tell me, but that I should do a great Service to the *Princess* if I would say this to her. But I refused, and said, if there were any private Reasons to conceal, I was sure that was Reason enough for me not to do it, for I did not know what I was about, and so would not meddle in it. I have since learned, from undeniable Testimony, that *Lady Bristol* had spoken to the *Princess* to be Mistress of her Robes, and that she answered her that she did not design to have any, but that if she was obliged to take one, the *Prince* had made her promise it should be *Mrs. Coke*: and yet this was before my *Lady Bristol* put me upon this hard Service.

Nov. 19. In the Morning, whilst I was in Waiting, came in my *Lady Nottingham*. We had just before been talking of *Dr. Smaldrige*,⁹ Bishop

⁸ Of *Drayton*, County *Northampton*, which he got from his first Wife, the divorced *Duchess of Norfolk*. *Lady Betty* was Sister of *Lord Berkeley*. She inherited her Husband's Estates, and bequeathed them to *Lord George Sackville*, who took on that Account the Name of *Germaine*.

⁹ *George Smaldrige*, a Friend and

Associate of *Asterbury*, Bishop of *Rochester*, to several of whose Preferments he succeeded. Conjointly with *Aldrich*, they published a famous Discourse on Church Government. He died in 1719. He was a great Favourite of the *Princess of Wales*, who settled 300*l.* a Year on his Widow.

of *Bristol*, who had been praised to the *Princess* 1714 as the greatest Saint upon Earth ; but till this Morning she had never known that he was one of Dr. *Sacheverel's* Speech-makers, and that he had waited upon him all the Time of his Trial. When my Lady *Nottingham* came in, the *Princess* addressed herself to her, and said : ‘We have been talking of Dr. *Smaldrige*.’ Upon which the other launched out in his Praise ; and says my Mistress : ‘Here’s Dr. *Clarke* shall be one of my Favourites ; his Writings are the finest Things in the World.’ Says the *Countess* : ‘Yes, Madam, his first Writings ; but his last are tainted with Heresy.’ And so she said abundance upon that Subject ; and in speaking of his Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, that Part relating to *Athanasius's* Creed, which she called the Test of Religion, she quoted Dr. *Smaldrige* as an Authority against Dr. *Clarke*. Mrs. *Clayton* was by, and said that Dr. *Smaldrige*, whatever he had said to the *Countess*, yet had said to her that every private Christian was not obliged to believe every Part of the Athanasian Creed. Notwithstanding this, Lady *Nottingham* defended her Opinion of Dr. *Clarke's* being a Heretic as well as she could ; and I said to her : ‘Madam, I have read these Books, and I really see no Cause to accuse him of Heresy, which is a heavy Charge ; but I suppose your Ladyship is better acquainted with them than I am. Since you can accuse him, pray quote a Passage out of his Books.’ To

1714.

which she answered, drawing herself up as if she had been afraid of Something: ‘ Not I, indeed. I dare not trust myself with the Reading such Books. I ’ll assure you I never looked into them.’ ‘ What, Madam ? ’ said I, ‘ Do you undertake to condemn Anybody as a Heretic, or to decide upon a Controversy, without knowing what it is they believe and maintain ? I would not venture to do so for all the World.’ This Dispute happening before the *Princess*, will hardly be a Step to making her Governess to the young *Princesses*, which she had asked to be ; nor do I believe that Dr. *Smaldrige* will have Power to do so much Harm as he has done, or designs to do, for I am told for a Certainty that he and my Lord *Nottingham* are the Hopes of the Tories, and that the one in the Church, and the other in the State, had undertaken to set all Things upon the right Foot, as they call it. I am perswaded that Lord *Nottingham’s* Heart was never with the Whigs, though it was against the last Ministry ; and it was this Hatred to Lord *Oxford* that made him play the Part he did, joined with his Resentment at not being brought into Place, for the Queen had a mortal Aversion to him, because of his Rapaciousness ; and long before these Times, after the Queen had turned him out from being Secretary of State, she wrote a Letter to my Lord *Godolphin*, to tell him she would part with her Crown rather than make Use of my Lord *Nottingham* again, he was so overbearing and

greedy of Places for himself and Family. Lord 1714
Oxford was even with him, for he hated him as
much as he was hated, and despised him withal,
calling him '*Spintext*,' and always ridiculing him.
In the Evening the *King* was in the Drawing-
room. The Duchess of *St. Albans* put on the
Princess's Shift, according to *Court Rules*, when
I was by, she being Groom of the Stole.

This Day I read to the *Princess* the original
Affidavits concerning the Riots at three several
Places on the Coronation Day, which gave an Ac-
count of the Affronts offered to the *King*. The
Pretence was, that the other side would have
burnt the *Pope* and *Pretender*; that they had
Notice that *Sacbeverel's Image* was to be burnt,
and the Word was given, '*Sacbeverel for ever!*' as
I believe it was all over *England*; and in some of
these Places they added, '*D— King George!*'
'T is certain the Hopes of the Tories ran very
high, and that all endeavours imaginable were
used to get a Tory *Parliament*, not a Night
passing but some scandalous Pamphlet or other
was cried about upon some of the Whigs; and
I remember one Night I bought my Lord's
Speech to the *King* and Council in vindication
of the Duke of *Ormond*.¹ These Things did a
great deal of Harm among the common People;
but what clinched the Nail was, that this Week
every one, or almost all the Lords in Office,

¹ An imaginary Speech.

1714. received the *Pretender's Declaration*² by the foreign Post, which spoke so openly of the late Queen's good Intentions towards him, that at first People were of Opinion it had not been genuine; but about a Week after, Mr. *Prior*³ sent over Notice from *France* that such a Thing was come out, and that at first he thought it had been only a Story raised by the English Nuns and Irish Priests (both famous at *Paris* for lying), but that he found it was authentic, and that he was trying to get a Copy, which he would send away by a special Messenger as soon as he got it. These Things I believe have helped to convince the *Court* that though 't is reasonable to give the Tories very good Words, yet they are not to be trusted, notwithstanding their Pretence of unlimited and passive Obedience. The *Court* went to the Opera. The Duke of *Shrewsbury* had been in a great Grief for a Report that was in Town that the *Duchess* had told the *Princess* that Gentlemen's Wives had kissed her Hand when she first came into *England*. To be sure, Nobody had ever done it, unless it might be some belonging to the *Duke's* Family, though the *Princess* says she told her so. The Duke of *Bolton* was by, who had told Madame *Kielmansegge* of it, and she that very Day whispered it to the *Duchess* of *Shrewsbury*, then by. She expressed

² There is an Analysis of this Document, with Extracts, in *Tindal's Continuation of Rapin*, vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 409,

folio edition, 1747.

³ *Matthew Prior*, the Poet, then Minister Plenipotentiary in *Paris*.

a world of Resentment, and was very angry at those that had mentioned it; and in that she was in the Right, for certainly Nobody should repeat a Conversation out of a Princess's Chamber. This Night the *Prince* and *Princess* went to the Opera, which was stark Nought.

I went to Chapel, which concluded the Service Nov. 21. of my Week. I received a thousand Marks of my Mistress's Favour, as embracing me, kissing me, saying the kindest Things, and telling me that she was truly sorry my Week of Waiting was so near out. I am so charmed with her good Nature and good Qualities, that I shall never think I can do enough to please her. I am sure, if being sincerely true and just to her will be any Means to merit her Favour, I shall have it, for I am come into the *Court* with a Resolution never to tell a Lie; and I hope I find the good Effects of it, for she repose more Confidence in what I say than in any others, upon that very Account. A great Bustle was heard this Day at the Chapel. It was the Countess of *Nottingham*, who was going out before Church was done (like a true High Churchwoman), to take her Place behind the *Princess's* Chair-back in the Drawing-room, preferring to make her Court to an earthly rather than to a heavenly Power. I was ill from standing so long upon my Feet, for which Reason I did undress me as soon as I came Home, and stayed within for two Days, to recover myself.

I dined, undressed, at Mrs. *Clayton's*, with the Nov. 24.

22 *Diary of Lady Cowper.*

1714 — Duchess of *Marlborough*, Countess of *Piquebourg*, and Lady *Effex Robartes*. The *Duchess* gave me a Pattern for Embroidery for the next Birthday.

Nov. 25. I went to *Court* in the Morning, and found the *Prince* had been ill of a Surfeit. In the Afternoon Monsieur *Bernstorff* came. My Lord tried to have kept Mr. *Moncton* in the Commission of Trade, for the Honour of the *House of Lords*, he having been turned out singly by the last Ministry, for being a Witness before the *House of Lords* against them the last Year; but it was all resolved before, and so he was shamefully put out.⁴ He (Mr. *B.*) told me they began to find out the Earl of *Nottingham* and the Bishop of *Bristol*, and that their Reign was at an end. After he was gone I went to *Court*. The *Prince* was in Bed; but, notwithstanding, all the Ladies of the Bedchamber that were attending were called in, and Tables were placed, and we were all set to play at Ombre with the Lords of the *Prince's* Bedchamber, and, for a Miracle, I won eight Guineas.

Nov. 26. We all went to *Court* twice. In the Evening, not knowing any Order to the contrary, I called for a Table and Cards, and played at Ombre. I since begged my Mistress's Pardon, and told her that it was through Ignorance I had been guilty, for Mr. *Coke*,⁵ the *King's* Vice-

⁴ He had been Commissioner of Trade and Plantations from 1706 to 1713.

⁵ The Right Honourable *Thomas Coke*, of *Melbourne*, *Derbyshire*, Vice-Cham-

berlain to Queen *Anne* and *George I*. His Daughter and Heirefs married Sir *Matthew Lamb*, Father of the first *Vil-*
count Melbourne.

Chamberlain, had told me that we that were her Servants were to set a good Example to the Rest by playing, and that she might be sure I should be the Last that would break any Rule she made. She told me she readily believed me, and that the Tables and Chairs were taken out of the Drawing-room because People used to sit down before her, but that Anybody might play in the outward Room that would.

1714.

Both Days I was sick and stayed at Home. Besides, I thought I had some Reason to apprehend *Nancy's*⁶ having a Return of her Convulsion Fits; so I partly stayed to watch her. I gave her some of my Aunt's Convulsion Powder, and I thank *God* my Fears have been groundless. Mrs. *Clayton* stayed and supped with me.

Nov. 27,
28.

I went to *Court* to enquire of my Mistress's Health, who had been out of Order, and I found her gone a walking. I stayed till she came back. She had walked to *Kensington*, and the Coaches brought them back again. She thanked me for drinking her Health with Mrs. *Clayton* at Supper the Night before. I told her I never failed at my Meals drinking hers and my Master's; upon which the *Prince* said he did not wonder he had such good Health since he came into *England*, since I took so much Part in it. I told him that before his coming hither, I and my Children had constantly drunk his Health by the name of *Young*

⁶ Lady *Anne Cowper*.

24 *Diary of Lady Cowper.*

1714. *Hanover Brave,*⁷ which was the Title Mr. *Congreve*⁸ had given him in a Ballad. This made him ask who Mr. *Congreve* was, and so gave me an Opportunity of saying all the Good of Mr. *Congreve* which I think he truly deserves.

Nov. 30. This Day was employed in packing, for removing from *Russell Street* (where I had a delightful House, with the finest View backwards of any House in Town) to the House in *Lincoln's Inn Fields*, where I had lived before, when my Lord had the Seals, and which my Lord *Harcourt* lived in whilst he was Chancellor. I wrote a Letter as earnest as I could make it to my Lord *Halifax*,⁹ at the desire of my Sister *Liddell*,¹ to get her Husband put into the Commission of the *Salt Office*, which I sent the next Morning.

Dec. 1. My Lord *Halifax* came in to see my Lord, and desired him to tell me that he had all the Concern in the World that he could not do what I desired in relation to my Brother *Liddell*, for the Commission had been long before the *King*, but that he had so great a Mind to serve me, that the Place of Treasurer of the *Stamp*

⁷ From the Song by Mr. *Congreve* on the Battle of *Oudenarde*, beginning, 'Ye Commons and Peers:—

'Not so did behave

Young *Hanover* brave
In this bloody Field, I assure ye;
When his War-horse was shot

He valued it not,
But fought still on Foot like a Fury.'

⁸ William *Congreve*, the celebrated Dramatist. The Prince's Question, 'Who

Mr. *Congreve* was?' gives us the Measure of the Ignorance of the two first Princes of the House of *Hanover* respecting Everything English.

⁹ Charles Montague, Earl of *Halifax*, K. G., the Poet, Wit, and Statesman, died in 1715.

¹ Anne, youngest Daughter of John Clavering, Esq., of *Chopwell*, Wife of Henry, Son of Sir Henry *Liddell*.

Duties (which was vacant by Mr. *Frankland's* 1714. dying) was at my Service, if I would accept of it. My Lord answered that I should be infinitely obliged to him for it, and, when Lord *Halifax* was gone, came up and told me of it. I own I was never more overjoyed in my Life than with the Thoughts of being able to do my Sister this Service. I wrote to my Sister to tell her, and to know if I had her Consent and my Brother's for writing to my Lord *Halifax* to thank him and accept. They were both at Supper at my Cousin *Waite's*, and my Brother in coming Home called at Mr. *Freekē's*, where his Father was, and from thence wrote me a Letter of Thanks, and that he gladly accepted the Favour. To clinch the Matter, I sat down and wrote a Letter of Thanks to my Lord *Halifax*, accepting the Place.

In the following Morning my Cousin *Waite* Dec. 2. and my Sister *E. Clavering* came to make me a Visit. This Last brought a Message from my Sister *Liddell* to give me many Thanks for the Trouble I had taken about her Husband's Affair, but withal to tell me that there was a great Security which must be given to the Government before he could enter upon it, so that she was sorry he had accepted it, for it was utterly against her Consent. I was a little nettled at this Message, but made no other Answer than that I thought that Sir *Harry Liddell* and Mr. *Freekē*, who had advised him to accept it,

1714. had more Wit than my Sister. My Cousin *Waite* at the same Time desired me to speak to my Lord *Halifax* to get her Husband into the *Wine License*, which I begged Pardon for refusing to do the Day after he had given me a Place. In the Afternoon came Mrs. *Darcy*, to desire me to speak to the *Princess* to make Mrs. *H. Howard*² a Bedchamber Woman. She urged that Mrs. *Howard* had had a Promise of it from *Hanover* in the Princess *Sophia's* Time, in a Letter from her to Lady *Frederica Schomberg*.³ I said I had a Friend of my own (Mrs. *Kreinberg*) that had put in for the Place, and that I had promised to help her if it was in my Power. Mrs. *Darcy* answered me that I could ask for two, if I pleased, as well as for one. I smiled, and said I was not thorough-paced Courtier enough yet to come up to those Notions, and so I desired to be excused. I would not have undertaken this Affair for all the World.

My Aunt *Allanson* came in the Evening to see me. I told her of my Sister *Liddell's* Behaviour to me, which she justified mightily, saying the Place was but a poor 300*l.* per Annum, that there were Taxes to be paid out of it, and a new War might break out, and then there must be four Shillings in the Pound ; that there

² On the Accession of *George I.*, Mrs. *Henrietta Howard*, afterwards Lady *Suffolk*, was appointed one of the Bed-chamber Women to the Princess of *Wales*. See the Preface to the *Letters*

of *Lady Suffolk*, edited by Mr. *Croker*.
³ *Frederica*, second Daughter of *Meinhardt Duke of Schomberg*; married, first, the Earl of *Holderneſſ*, and secondly, the Earl *Fitzwalter*. She died 1751.

were no Perquisites (which is false), and urging 1714. highly my Duty to do all I could for my Relations. I told her since my Relations were so hard to please, after I had taken all these Pains, they should get the next Place themselves, for this was so discouraging that I would meddle no more for Anybody. From hence high Words arose, and such as plainly shewed me that after all I have done for my Family, I am thought but 'an unprofitable Servant ;' which I think a little hard, after I have got a Place for my Uncle *Allanson* from my Lord, which brings him near a thousand Pounds a Year. My Lord, in both Times of his being Chancellor, has let him officiate, though my Lord says that he opens the Busines so ill that he can never understand what he reads, but is forced to read all the Briefs himself; whereas when *Dupper*, who is now his Deputy, brings Anything, my Lord is never at that Trouble. When my Aunt was gone, I told my Lord how I had been used by my Friends. He was mightily displeased, particularly with my Aunt, whose Treatment he resented so much, that he would have taken away the Commissionership, had I not soothed him, and told him I did them good for Conscience Sake. But it is hard to meet with the Return I do from my Relations.

I removed to my new old House in *Lincoln's Inn Fields*. As I went into the Door, came a Letter from my Lord *Halifax*, to tell me that the *King*, by Monsieur *Bernstorff*, had ordered *Dec. 3.*

1714. him to put Another into the Place he had given my Brother; that he had sent *Robertson*⁴ to expostulate, and tell him it was given to me. I sealed the Letter up, and sent it to my Sister, who did richly deserve this Turn. My Brother wrote to me to make a great many Expressions, and to tell me he was ashamed to desire me to pursue this Matter any further, since I had had so much Trouble already in it; but, however, said enough to let me know he was quite of another Mind than his Wife.

Dec. 4. In the Evening Monsieur *Bernstorff* came to bring me my Place, which the *King* refused to meddle with as soon as he heard who it was for; saying, ‘*Laissez-la lui; je n'y veux pas toucher: elle l'aura, elle l'aura;*’ which obliging Expression was more than the Thing itself, though I suppose my Relations would have liked *iol.* a Year Addition much better.

Dec. 6. I waited upon the *Princess* in the Morning, and told her how good the *King* had been to me; that I was sure it must be from my having the Honour to be about her Person that I had received such a Favour, having no Merit of my own. In the Evening I went to the Drawing-room, and thanked the *King*. The Room was excessive hot, and I got a great Cold coming out, for my Chairmen had left me. In the Evening went

⁴ Private Secretary of *George I.*, and one of his principal Favourites; had great Influence in the Disposal of Places and Patronage. He was of French Ex-

traction, and broken Fortunes, and had been Private Secretary to *William III.* In the *Macpherson Papers* he appears as a frequent Correspondent of *Bothmar*.

out to sup at Madame *Montandre's*,⁵ to wait upon the *King*. There was Nobody there but Madame *Kielmansegge*, Lady *Dorchester*, Madame *Tron*⁶ the Venetian Ambassadress, myself, and Mr. *Methuen*,⁷ who makes sweet Eyes at Madame K. At Supper Madame *Tron* had a Letter from her Husband, ordering her to come Home. He's very jealous; but now she has got into a free Country, she says she will live and go about like other People; and he, not liking her to do this, beats her very often. That's the only Thing she fears, for if she can but escape Beating, she values Nothing, which has got her the Name of 'La Beauté sans Souci.'

1714.

Bernstorff came, and made Complaints of my Lord *Halifax*'s insupportable Pride to his fellow-Ministers (which he has some Reason for showing, having been very ill used by some of them in the disposing of Places), of his Familiarity with my Lord *Oxford* and others (which he utterly denies), and to desire all Quarrels may be made up (which he promises to do). The Report of his Intimacy with Lord *Oxford* has no other Foundation than my Lord *Dupplin's*⁸ not being yet out of his Place, which is given to my Lord *Not-*

Dec. 8.

⁵ Wife of Francis de la Rocheſaucal, Marquis de *Montandre*, who came to England with William III., and served in all the Wars of that Monarch and of Queen Anne.

⁶ Signor *Tron*, Venetian Ambassador, had his first Audience of the King November 18, 1714, to congratulate him on his Accession. There is a Palace of

this name at *Venice*.

⁷ Paul Methuen was, at different Times, Ambassador to Spain, Comptroller of the Household, and Secretary of State. He was Son of the Negotiator of the *Methuen Treaty* with Portugal, and Ancestor of Lord *Methuen*.

⁸ Thomas Viscount *Dupplin* became Earl of *Kinnoul* in 1758.

1714. *tingham* for his Son-in-law, Sir *Roger Moftyn*,⁹ a rank Jacobite. My Lord *Halifax* refused to put Sir *Roger* into the Place till an Account is made up that is depending between him and the Government, which they are doing with all the Expedition imaginable.

D.c. 11. *Bernstorff* came in the Evening, by Appointment, to try to get my Lord to make the Matter up among the Whig Lords, and to tell my Lord *Halifax* that the *King* heard he would not do his Part in the *Treasury* against the old Ministers for their Detection in the ensuing Sessions of *Parliament*; and by that he would think he was in Friendship with my Lord *Oxford*. My Lord willingly undertook it, and my Lord *Halifax* as willingly promised to do his Part. This Lie probably came from my Lord *Nottingham*, who harangues the *King* every Day for an Hour and Half (concluding always with his Hand upon his Breast, and these Words: ‘Sir, I have done my Duty and discharged my Conscience, after having laid the Truth before your Majesty. If your Majesty will not follow my Advice, I have Nothing to do but to submit with Resignation to your Majesty’s better Judgment’), and who is angry with Lord *Halifax* for not admitting his Son-in-law, Sir *Roger Moftyn*, into his Place. I was ill at Home. Lady *Essex Robartes* came in the Evening to take her Leave of me, she being

* Third Baronet. Married Lady *Essex* *tingham*; made a Teller of the *Exchequer* *Finch*, Daughter of *Daniel Earl of Not-* in 1714.

to begin her Cornish Journey¹ to-morrow Morning, which she will be about twelve Days in performing. She undertakes it with great Fear.

Mr. Benson² came in the Evening, much mortified with being left out of the *Board of Trade*, where Mr. Chetwynd had got in by Madame Kielmansegge's Interest, he having given her (as he told me he is well assured) five hundred Guineas down, and is to pay her a Pension of 200*l.* per Annum as long as he has the Place; and I have since learnt from another Hand that he gave her also the fine Brilliant Ear-rings which she wears, it being certain she never had any such Jewels abroad.

At Home all Day. Mrs. Tuttle came to see me in the Morning. She told me that my Relations took it ill of me that I did not go oftener to them; that my Aunt expected I should have got her a Place about the *Princess*, and my Uncle another in the *Salt Office*. How People judge of their own Merit! This Day a Man was sent to *Newgate*, that on Saturday last had come into the Court at *St. James's*, and made two or three Passes with his Sword at the Colours, reviling the *King* and his Title. He was an Irish

1714.

Dec. 13.

Dec. 14

¹ To Lanhydrock, near Bodmin, now in the Possession of T. J. Agar Robartes, Esq., M.P., Representative in the female Line of the Robartes's Earls of Radnor.

² Robert Benson, of Bramham Park, Yorkshire, M.P. for York, was a Lord of the Treasury from August 1710 to April 1711, and Chancellor of the Exchequer from May 1711 to 1713. He was sub-

frequently created Lord Bingley, and was Ambassador to Madrid, and Treasurer of the Household, 1729-30. John Chetwynd, whom he seems to have thought more fortunate than himself on the Occasion above mentioned, was appointed, and remained one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations from 1714 to 1728.

1714.

Papist, and had formerly been a Servant to *Wilks*,³ the Player, who had turned him out of the Play-house, upon a Complaint made of him by the Duke of *Argyle*⁴ for talking in a like Manner.

Dec. 15.

Bernstorff dined here. I hope the Matter of the Whigs is amicably settled. Lord *Nottingham* and his Brother are well known, and 't is promised that they shall never be able to do Harm. The *King* is as we wish upon the Subject of Parties, and keeps my Lord's Manuscript by him, which he has read several Times. I have prevailed for Sir *David Hamilton* to be sole Physician to the *Princess*.

Dec. 16.

Mrs. *Clayton* dined here. She told me that the Duchess of *Bolton* made great Interest for Mrs. *M. Oglethorpe* to be a Maid of Honour (if a Woman can be so that has had several Children). The *Princess* is mightily obliged to her Grace for the Recommendation, for the *Oglethorpes* have always been Spies to *France*, and this very Woman took a Journey thither the Day after the *Queen* was buried: and to be sure she had always been a Spy upon the Whigs, her Mother having turned her out of Doors upon pretence of her being a Protestant and a Whig. So she harboured herself with those who were really so;

³ Was descended from a good Family in *Worcestershire*, and Grandson of Judge *Wilks*. He first appeared on the Stage in *Ireland*, but ultimately obtained great Success in *England*.

⁴ John, second Duke, served under *Marlborough*, and was Commander-in-

chief in *Scotland* in 1715. Commemorated by *Pope* :—

‘ *Argyle*, the State’s whole Thunder born
to wield,
And shake alike the Senate and the
Field.’

Died in 1743, without male Issue.

particularly, she was always at my Lady *Mohun's*,⁵ where all the libertine Whigs were frequently, and she certainly did a world of Harm that way.

This Morning I sent early to Baron *Bernstorff*, to desire to see him. He had requested me to give him Notice if Mrs. *Ogletborpe* was recommended to my Mistress, and withal to give him Notice of another Piece of Intelligence, which was, that Mrs. *Kirk* (Widow of that Mr. *Kirk* who killed *Conway Seymour*⁶) was recommended by the Dukes of *St. Albans* for a Bedchamber Woman. I told him what both those Ladies were; that Mrs. *Kirk* had managed all the Intrigue between Lady *Mary Vere*⁷ and the Duke of *Ormond*, took care of the Child, was Manager of all the Intrigues of the *Oxford* Family, had an ill Reputation as to herself, and had been the Duke of *Somerset's* Mistress. *Bernstorff* took down their Names, and promised to speak about them.

I could have told him a good deal more of this last Lady, if it had been fit for me to do so; but I never opened my Mouth in relation to what I know of her upon my Account in my whole Life, and therefore it won't be amiss to set down here, by way of Memorandum, what

⁵ *Charles*, fifth and last Lord *Mohun*, killed in a Duel with the Duke of *Hamilton* in 1712, married, first, *Charlotte Mainwaring*, Niece of *Charles* Earl of *Macclesfield*, and secondly, *Elizabeth*, Daughter of Dr. *Thomas Lawrence*, and Widow of Colonel *Griffith*. The Latter is of course the Lady *Mohun* mentioned above.

⁶ For an Account of their Duel, see *Macaulay*, vol. v. p. 240.

⁷ *Aubrey de Vere*, twentieth and last Earl of *Oxford*, died 1702, leaving Issue *Diana*, Wife of the first Duke of *St. Albans*, and *Mary* and *Henrietta*, who both died unmarried.

1714. she formerly did towards making me unhappy.
But I thank God I have escaped that Snare.

My Lord being a Widower when the late Queen gave him the Seals, it was no Wonder the young Women laid out all their Snares to catch him. None took so much Pains as Lady *Harriet Vere*, whose Poverty and ruined Reputation made it impossible for her to run any Risk in the Pursuit, let it end as it would. She had made several Advances to my Lord by Mrs. *Morley*, her Kinswoman, and finding Nothing came of it, they immediately concluded my Lord must be pre-engaged to Somebody else ; so they set a Spy upon him, and found that he had country Lodging at *Hammersmitb*, where he lay constantly, and upon Enquiry they found I was the Cause of this Coldness to Lady *H.* Upon this, they settled a Correspondence under a feigned Name with him ; and in those Letters (which were always sent by a Fellow dressed up in Woman's Clothes, who could never be overtaken) they pretended to be some great Person, that threatened him, if he married me, to hinder the Passing of his Title. The first of these Letters came the Day before I was married. However, it did not hinder our Marriage, though my Lord thought it advisable to keep it a Secret ;⁶ and so he re-

⁶ There were, perhaps, other Reasons for his keeping the Marriage secret for a Time, as in a Letter, quoted by Lord *Campbell*, from the Chancellor to his newly-married Wife, December 30,

1706, he says : "I am going to visit my Mother, and, perhaps, shall begin to prepare her for what the world, I hope, know in a little Time."

moved the next Day to *London*. His Correspondents, seeing they had made him leave the Place, thought it would be no hard Matter to break the Match; and from that Time to the Beginning of *January*, which was almost four Months, my Lord had a Letter every Day, some of whole Sheets of Paper, filled with Lies about me: to say I was a mean Wretch; that I was Coquette, and should be more so; that my playing so well was, and would be, a Temptation to bring all the Rakes in Town about me; that it had been so thus far of my Life; and that I was treated so familiarly by the rakish Part of the Town, that one Night, at a Play, my Lord *Wharton*⁷ had said to my Lord *Dorchester*,⁸ ‘Now that the Opera is done, let’s go and hear *Molly Clavering* play it over again’ (which was all a plain Lie, for I never did play in any public Company, and only at Home when Anybody that visited my Aunt *Wood*, with whom I lived, asked me; and for those two Lords, I had never been in a Room with either of them in my whole Life). These are only Specimens of what Lies they invented to hurt me. At last, when they thought they had routed me, by the ill Impressions they had falsely given of me, upon a Day when my Lord was at the *House of Lords*, one Mr. *Mason*, of the *House of Commons*, came to him, and told

⁷ Thomas Earl, and afterwards Marquis, of *Wharton*, was one of the Leaders of the Whig Party and a Man of profigate Character.

⁸ Evelyn Pierpoint, Marquis of *Dorchester*, created Duke of *Kingston* in 1715, Father of Lady *Mary W. Montague*.

1714.

him that Mrs. *Weedon* (a Client of my Brother's, that had a foul Cause in the *Court of Delegates*) desired to speak with him. My Lord at first refused; but at length she teased him so much that he consented to see her; and by her Appointment, and saying she had a very fine Lady to recommend to him (which gave him a Thought he should find out his Correspondent), he waited upon her at Mrs. *Kirk's*, which was the Place appointed. He had some little Jealousy before he went that the fine Lady was Lady *Harriet Vere*, for she and Mrs. *Kirk* had always been in a Hackney Coach every Sunday for at least a Month, to ogle him and pafs and repafs his Coach when he went and came from the Chapel. He found he was right; for there she was, set out in all her Airs, with her Elbow upon a Table that had two wax Candles on it, and holding her Head, which she said ached. There she displayed herself, and so did her two Artificers, and not a Word said of the Cause. This Interview brought on several others, and those Visits to my Lord from Mrs. *K.* and Mrs. *W.*, to try to make this Match. They told him that the *Queen* had promised Lady *H.* 100,000*l.* when she married. He said upon that Score he durst not presume to marry her, for he had not an Estate to make a Settlement answerable to so great a Fortune; and at last they pressed him so much, that he owned he was engaged to me, and that it would be barbarous to ruin an innocent

young Woman, who had no Fault but receiving his Visits so long. They could not agree with him that it was barbarous, for it was only serving me in my own Kind, for I was contracted to Mr. *Floyd*, whom I had left for him. My Lord said they were mistaken in that Affair (which he knew full well). However, this did not discourage them; and once, when he seemed to yield, he brought Mrs. *Kirk* to confess the Pains they had been at to bring this about, and she mentioned particularly the Letters, which were contrived and writ at her House, and copied afterwards by Lady *H. V.* herself. As soon as my Lord had got this Confession, he wrote to Lady *H.*, in answer to a Love-letter from her (for she pretended to be terribly in love with him), to excuse himself, and say that he resolved to marry me, for now he was assured that he had met with a wife whose Conduct was unblemished, for that the greatest Enemy I had in the World had been writing every Day an Invective against me, which was duly sent to him; and that now all the Letters were laid out before him he did not find Anything I was accused of, but of playing the best upon the Harpsichord of any Woman in *England*, which was so far from being a Fault, that it was an Argument to him that I had been used to employ many of my Hours alone, and not in the Company of Rakes, as they would suggest. But they thought that there was Hope, since they did not believe we were actually

38 *Diary of Lady Cowper.*

1714. married, and my Lord could never get quit of their Importunity till he owned our Marriage to them, though it was before he owned it publicly; and even after that, both Mrs. K. and Lady H. V. wrote frequently to him. This I had not inserted, but as a Justification for my endeavouring to hinder her coming into the *Prince's* Bed-chamber.

Dec. 18. Lord *Halifax* dined here. After Dinner, I went to wait upon the little *Princesses*, who are Miracles of their Ages, especially Princess *Anne*,⁹ who at five Years old speaks, reads, and writes both German and French to Perfection, knows a great deal of History and Geography, speaks English very prettily, and dances very well.

Dec. 22. I went to Court in the Morning, which was the first Time of my going out. Sir D. *Hamilton* came in the Afternoon. He told me that Mrs. *Danvers*, at the next Door, had asked him how he could bear ever to see me, because I spoke ill of the *Queen*. I desired him to tell her that if she saw me herself she could take no Offence at me, for though I spoke freely of the *Queen*, I spoke mighty well of those that killed her. Mrs. *Danvers* had been many Years Dresser to the late *Queen*, both when she was Queen and after. She was generally pretty well wed to her own Party, but a Bear to all the Whigs after the Change of the Ministry. She had good Sense,

* *Princess Royal*, eldest Daughter of George II., afterwards Princeps of Orange. The late King of Holland was her Great-

grandson. There was once a Question, originating with the Duc de *Bourbon*, of her marrying *Louis XV.*

a great deal of Cunning, and was the violentest Jacobite in the World, and a good deal trusted by them. She had made great Professions to me the first Time my Lord was Chancellor, but neither she nor Mrs. *Hartflongue* ever came near me after; which she was told of by a Friend of mine, to whom she answered that she had Something else to do. After the happy Change, she took a House next to mine in *Lincoln's Inn Fields*, and told Sir *David Hamilton* that she intended to be my very good Neighbour, and see me every Day. I bid Sir *David* tell her she would find herself mistaken, for now I had Something else to do. Having named her Daughter, it will be right to say that she married an Irish Bishop, who hoped to have been made an English Bishop by marrying one of the *Queen's* Dressers; but, I don't know how it happened, he missed his Aim, and got only one of the frightfullest, disagreeablest Wives in the Kingdom. Her Mother had persuaded the *Queen* to make her Daughter a Dresser, that she might be sure that she was about her after her Death. The Duchess of *Marlborough* had refused to meddle in it, so Mrs. *Danvers* applied herself to Lady *Masham*, who undertook it upon condition that she would bear a Part in getting the *Duchess* out of the *Court*, which they did effectually; and Mrs. *Danvers* and her Daughter played their Part notably on that Occasion. It was about a Year after the young One was made Dresser that this reverend Prelate was smitten

1714

40 *Diary of Lady Cowper.*

1714. with her Beauty and married her. I shall only tell two little Stories as a Specimen of him. The one was, that, at a Christening, after he had baptised the Child, he brought the Basin of Water that had been used on that Occasion to the Lady of the House, saying, 'This, Madam, is sanctified Water ; pray let it be put into Bottles. I assure you it is a sovereign Remedy for sore Eyes.' The other, while he was in *Ireland*, a Sea Captain came to wait on him, whom, according to his Custom, he entertained mighty well (for he might have been a Roman Prelate for his Luxury). After Dinner he would needs show the Tar his Library, which the Other did not care for, excepting himself because he did not understand Books ; but the *Bishop* insisting upon it, they rose, and he followed the *Bishop*, who carried him into the finest Cellars, and the best filled, the *Captain* had ever seen ; and then, turning to him, he said, 'How do you like my Library ?' The Other replied, 'Ah ! this is Something like a Library. I assure your Lordship it is one of the finest I ever saw ; though I desire to remark to your Lordship that most of the Books are in Quarto.'

Dec. 23. I went to the Backstairs in the Evening. In the outward Room was a great Dispute upon what the *Princess* was to give at Christenings. She had been Godmother to Mrs. *Harcourt's* Child, and the *Prince* Godfather, and they had sent thirty Guineas between them, which our Ladies thought too little ; though, upon Informa-

tion, I find King *Charles II.* never gave more on such an Occasion than five Guineas to a Commoner's Nurses, ten to a Baron's, twenty to an Earl's, and so raised five Guineas in every Degree. 'T is true Things are altered since that Time (for now People of Quality sometimes give fifteen Guineas); but it is our Folly has increased this, as it has every other Expense. This Day the Bishop of *London*¹ waited on my Mistress, and desired Mrs. *Howard* to go in to the *Princess*, and say he thought it his Duty to wait upon her, as he was *Dean* of the *Chapel*, to satisfy her in any Doubts or Scruples she might have in regard to our Religion, and to explain Anything to her which she did not comprehend. She was a little nettled when Mrs. *Howard* delivered this Message to her, and said, 'Send him away civilly; though he is very impertinent to suppose that I, who refused to be Empress² for the Sake of the Protestant Religion, don't understand it fully.'

This Day our Mistress and all her Servants received at the *Chapel*. I was pleased with the *Princesses'* Behaviour, which was the devoutest in the World.

1714.

Dec. 25.

¹ Dr. *Robinson*, Dean of *Windfor* and Bishop of *Briſtol*, removed to *London*, July, 1714, strongly opposed to Dr. *Clarke's* Views. He was Privy Seal in 1711 for a short Time, and one of the Plenipotentiaries for the Peace of *Utrecht*.

² She had refused to marry the Archduke *Charles*, afterwards Emperor, be-

cause he was a Roman Catholic. *Gay* says, in his *Epistle to a Lady*, in speaking of her:—

'The Pomp of Titles easie Faith might
shake;
She scorned an Empire for Religion's
Sake.'

1714. I waited upon the *Princess* to ask her Leave to go into the Country for three or four Days. The Duchess of *Sbrewsbury* and I had changed our Weeks, and she waited for me. This Day Monsieur *Robetbon* procured the Grant of the King of Clerk of the *Parliament*, after Mr. *Johnson's* Death, for Anybody he would name. He let my Brother *Cowper*³ have it in Reversion after Mr. *Johnson* for his two Sons for 1,800*l.*

* *Spencer Cowper*, M.P. for *Truro*, and one of the Managers on *Sacheverel's* Trial, was made a Judge in 1727. His two Sons, *William* and *Abley Cowper*, held this lucrative Appointment in suc-

cession from 1716 to 1788; and their Nephew, the late *Henry Cowper*, of *Tewin Water*, was Deputy Clerk of the Parliaments from 1785 to 1825.





1715.

THIS was *Twelfth Night*, and such a ^{Jan. 6.} Crowd I never saw in my Life. My Mistress and the Duchess of *Montague*⁴ went halves at Hazard, and won 600*l.* Mr. *Archer*⁵ came in great Form to offer me a Place at the Table; but I laughed, and said he did not know me if he thought that I was capable of venturing two hundred Guineas at Play—for None sit down to the Table with less. In this great Crowd One may easily imagine there was a world of shouldering and hunching People. The Venetian *Ambassador*, who I believe had been used to cry out to her Husband, when he beat her, to take care of her Face, met with a good deal of it, and ‘Prenez garde à mon Vizaze!’⁶ was her Cry all Night long, and so loud, that the King heard her, and, turning to Somebody that stood behind him, said, ‘Entendez-vous l’*Ambas-*

⁴ Daughter of the Duke of *Marlborough*.

England and elsewhere.

⁵ Thomas *Archer*, Esq., was Groom Porter of all His Majesty’s Houses in

⁶ The Italian Pronunciation of *Vizage*.

1715. *sadrice?* Elle vous abandonne tout le Reste du Corps, pourvu que vous ayez soin du Visage.'

Jan. 7. I asked Leave from the *Princess* to be absent at Night, for the *King* supped at *Montague House*,⁷ and the *Duchess* would not suffer me to deny being with her, no more than the *Duchess of Marlborough* would. Before I went out in the Evening I had a Present from the *King* of two Wild Boars' Heads; one of which he had cut of, and found it so very good, that he said it was the best he had ever eat, and bade Mr. *Lowman* send it to me, and say he had been my Taster. This, I presume, is a great Addition to the Present, and puts me in mind of the *King of France*,⁸ who always sups publicly; and when he has a Mind to make a great Compliment to Anybody, he bites a Bit of Sweetmeat with his Gums (for he has no Teeth), and sends the Residue to those he would oblige. But to return to our Supper. The *King* was very grave. The *Duchess of Shrewsbury*, *Madame Kielmansegge*, and I very weary. A very short Supper; and about one o'Clock the *King* went to see the House, and then the *Duchess of Shrewsbury* and I slipped away.

Jan. 8. In the Evening the Groom of the Stole and I waited upon the *Princess* to *Lady Berkeley's*,

⁷ The House mentioned in the Text was built by the Duke of *Montague*. It was in *Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury*, on the Site of the *British Museum*. The Fields behind *Montague House* were the

great Rendezvous of Duellists.

⁸ *Louis XIV.* This Story is hardly compatible with the *Grand Monarque's* Reputation for good Manners.

where she christened the Child with the King 1715.
and Lady *Betty Germaine*. She gave thirty Guineas to the Nurse.

At Court. My Mistress complained of Lord ^{Feb. 2.} *Halifax*. I have spoken to my Lord to bid him go and justify himself at *Court*.

I received at *St. Giles's*⁹ with my Lord, in ^{Feb. 6.} order to take the Oaths.

I took the Oaths appointed in the *Court of Chancery*, with the Duchess of *St. Albans* and Mrs. *Brett*,¹ the Seamstres. We afterwards went to *Court*. I dined at the Duchess of *Marlborough's*, and from thence I waited upon the *Prince's* to the Playhouse in *Drury Lane*,² and asked Leave to come Home directly from thence, having had a hard Day's Work.

Bernstorff was here. The Duke of *Buckingham*,³ upon what Consideration I know not, has refused his Pension, and Lord *Strafford's*⁴ is at an End. About the Middle of last Month Lord *Strafford* put his Papers into Lord *Townshend's*⁵ Hands, by the *King's* Orders; upon which his

⁹ The present Church was finished in 1734. The Church at which *Lady Cowper* received the Sacrament was built in 1628, and consecrated by Archibishop *Laud*.

¹ Probably the *Ann Brett* who became Mistress of *George I.* shortly before his Death.

² The second Theatre designed by *Wren*, and opened in 1674.

³ *John Sheffield*, Duke of *Buckingham*, of some Note as a Wit and Statesman, was favoured by *James II.*, *William*, and *Anne*, and is reported to have sought the

Hand of the Last in Marriage. Died 1721.

⁴ *Thomas Wentworth*, Lord *Raby*, created Earl of *Strafford* in 1711, Grand-nephew of the famous Earl of *Strafford*, was Minister in *Holland*, and one of the Plenipotentiaries at the Peace of *Utrecht*. Was included in the Impeachment by *Parliament of Oxford* and *Bolingbroke*. Died in 1739.

⁵ *Charles*, second Viscount, was *George I.*'s Secretary of State on his Accession. He was Brother-in-law and at this Time the Friend of *Walpole*.

1715. Wife, who had fancied herself with Child, miscarried, as she had resolved to do as soon as my Lord's Business was talked on, and as I had been told by her Mother-in-law (in Confidence) she would do. I spoke to get Mr. *Rowley* made Master of the Mechanics, which Mr. *Bernstorff* promised me. He also promised me to get Madame *Selnavé's* Pension continued, and her Suit made an End of in the Island of *St. Christopher's*.

Feb. 14. The *Princess* told me that my Lord *Halifax* had been with her, and had justified himself, very much to her Satisfaction. There was a Drawing-room in the Evening, and the Duchefs of *Roxburgh*⁶ told the Countess of *Buckenborg*⁷ that the Play the *Princess* was to go to the next Day was such a One as Nobody could see with a good Reputation. It was *The Wanton Wife*.⁸ I had seen it once; and I believe there were few in Town had seen it so seldom, for it used to be a favourite Play, and often bespoke by the Ladies. I told this to the *Princess*, who resolved to venture going upon my Character of it.

Feb. 15. Went to the Play with my Mistress; and, to my great Satisfaction, she liked it as well as any Play she had seen; and it certainly is not more obscene than all Comedies are. It were to

⁶ Mary, Daughter of Daniel Earl of Nottingham, and Widow of the Marquis of Halifax. Died in 1718, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

⁷ Countess of Lippe and Buckenburg

(or, in French, *Piquebourg*), one of the Ladies of the Princess of Wales.

⁸ By Betterton; but better known as *The Amorous Widow*.

be wished our Stage was chaster ; and I cannot 1715.
but hope, now it is under Mr. Steele's⁹ Direction,
that it will mend.

I waited both Morning and Evening. At Feb. 16.
Night there was a Ball, which is to be every
Wednesday. This Fatigue was abundantly too
much for me. The Duchess of *Roxburgh* told
me she heard Sir *H. St. John*¹ is to be made
an Earl for Life, and desired me to try to pre-
vent it.

I came mighty ill to *Court*, and the Duchess
of *Sbrewsbury* had so much Humanity as to wait
out my Week for me. As I was going through
the Rooms, I met Baron *Bernstorff*. I told him
that my Lord had ordered me to speak to him
to hinder Mr. *Burges*s from going Governor to
New England.² He is the most immoral Man
in the World ; was tried for the Murders of
two Men, and was so common a Swearer that
the People, who are rigid Puritans, and left the
Kingdom before the Civil Wars, to enjoy their
own Way of Worship in Peace, would look
at his being sent as a Judgment upon them. I

⁹ Sir Richard Steele, on the Accession
of *George I.*, was made 'Surveyor of the
Royal Stables and Governor of the
King's Comedians.'

¹ Father of Lord *Bolingbroke*, 'a Man
of Pleasure that walks about the *Mall*',
says *Swift*, 'and frequents St. *James's*
Coffee-house and the Chocolate-houses,'
was created Viscount *St. John*, and died in
1742, on the verge of ninety. On hearing
of his celebrated Son's Elevation to the

Peerage, he said, 'Ah ! *Harry*. I always
said you would be hanged, but I find
you will be beheaded.'

² Colonel *Elija Burges*s, appointed
Governor of *Massachusetts* in 1715.
Had been a Fellow-soldier of General
Stanhope, the new Secretary of State ;
but the Agent of *Massachusetts*, being
then in *London*, advanced 1,000*l.* to in-
duce him to relinquish his Appointment
in favour of *Samuel Shute*.

1715. also did ask him about Sir *Henry St. John*. He told me the Thing was true. I gave him all the good Reasons I could against it, and 't is certain, if it should be done, such a Mark of Favour will infallibly damp the Prosecution the *King* is driving on against my Lord *Bolingbroke* in the next Sessions of *Parliament*. I'm told, from good Hands, that Mr. *Bothmar*³ is to have the Advantage of doing it.

From this Time I was confined to the House till the Birthday, during which Time Peace was made at *Bernstorff's* among the Whig Lords. *Bernstorff* had told the *King* that I would be Caution for my Lord *Halifax's* Behaviour, which I chid him for, because 't is sufficient to answer for One's own Actions, without bearing the Burthen of other People's Faults. I am sorry to think what may be the Consequence of these Divisions. I am sure it must do a great deal of Harm, and it is a Rock we have already split upon.

Feb. 28. Lady *St. John*⁴ and Madame de *Gouvernet*⁵ supped here. The First shewed me a Letter from Lord *Bolingbroke* to his Father, with Professions

³ Was Hanoverian Minister at the Hague, and an active Agent in the Elector's Transactions with England. He figures in the History of *Marlborough's* Campaigns, and exercised great Influence in the Disposal of Crown Offices on the Accession of *George I.* *Townshend* vehemently declared of him, 'He has every Day some infamous Project or other on Foot to get Money.' His Character is also described in a Letter from *Cragg*; to

Schaub in the *Hardwicke Papers*.

⁴ Second Wife of Sir *Henry St. John*.

⁵ *Elie Bénoit* says, 'A la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes, la Marquise de *Gouvernet* obtint avec beaucoup de Peine la Permission de se retirer en *Angleterre*, où une de ses Filles était établie.' The Head of the ancient Family of *La Tour du Pin* in *France* bears the Title of Marquis de *Gouvernet*.

of his Innocence in respect of the *Pretender* (a 1715.
Copy of which I have taken),⁶ but I believe it
won't serve his Turn.

This Day Madame *Selhane* was with me to
thank me for her Affair being ended to her Satisf-
faction. *March 8*

I do not pretend to set down the Occurrences
of this Month with the greatest Regularity, be-
cause many of the Dates of Things are out of my
Head; but I think it will be good to set them
down as well as I can, for a Help to my own
Memory hereafter.

I was now at *Kensington*, where I intended to
stay as long as the Camp was in *Hyde Park*, the
Roads being so secure by it, that One might
come from *London* any Time of the Night with-
out Danger, which I did very often, for the
Rebels were up in *Northumberland*,⁷ and I was
mightily solicited from my Friends at *Newcastle*
to procure them some Assistance, which I effec-
tually did by Baron *Bernstorff*, to the great Vexa-
tion of Lord *Townshend* and Mr. *Walpole*, who
at that Time were for palliating Everything, and
beating down the Report of the Rebellion, thus
making it plain beyond Contradiction. I also
had two other Affairs to solicit; one in which
my Lord *Cowper* was engaged, the other by the
Commands of the *Princess*, which I did faithfully,
The First was a Place for Lord *William Pawlet*.
who got it (a Teller's Place), the Other for Mr.

⁶ See Appendix B.

⁷ See Letters in Appendix C.

1715.

Clayton. As I loved Mrs. *Clayton* very much, I did what I could for Mr. *Clayton*. The Place he aimed at was that of Secretary to Mr. *Walpole's* Office. But Mr. *Walpole* had a Mind *Horace Walpole*⁶ should have it, and so had Lord *Townshend*. Mr. *Clayton* had solicited very much for it, and was helped by the *Prince* and *Princess*, who spoke about it to Lord *Townshend*, Mr. *Walpole*, and Baron *Bernstorff*. But first I should tell that when the late Earl of *Halifax* was alive, and hated by his old Friends, Mr. *Walpole* came to Mr. *Clayton* and put him upon asking it of Lord *Halifax*; but he dying soon after, and the Earl of *Carlisle*⁷ coming into his Place, Mr. *Walpole* put Mr. *Clayton* upon asking it again of Lord *Carlisle*, who had taken the Office to resign it soon after Mr. *Walpole*. At the same Time he pressed Mr. *Clayton* to ask for the Place, and swore to him by *God* that if ever he came into Lord *Carlisle's* Office he would make him take it. When Mr. *Walpole* was put into Office, Mr. *Clayton* found him a little cold; so was Lord *Townshend*; which Mrs. *Clayton* perceiving, desired me to speak of the Matter to Baron *Bernstorff*. I did so, and he assured me there was no Danger, for he had spoke to Mr. *Walpole* and Lord *Townshend*, and they had promised that the Place should be given to Mr. *Clayton*.

About this Time an old Hatred broke out

⁶ Brother of Sir *Robert*, Ambassador at *Paris*; created Lord *Walpole* of *Wolterton*.

⁷ Charles third Earl of *Carlisle* was, for a short Time, First Lord of the *Treasury*. Died in 1738.

betwixt the Duke of *Somerset*⁸ and Lord *Townshend*. The Duke of *Somerset's* afflicting Sir *William Windham*⁹ was made the Pretence, and he was turned out, without acquainting the *Prince* or Lord *Cowper* with it. They had done a world of Things to force Lord *Cowper* to quit, who was their Superior in Everything, because they were afraid of his Honesty and Plaindealing. But to return to Mr. *Clayton*: I told Mrs. *Clayton* what Baron *Bernstorff* had said to me. She fell a laughing, and said, when Mr. *Walpole* and Lord *Townshend* promised that Mr. *Clayton* should have the Place, they knew that *Horace Walpole* was on the Sea, they having sent for him to give him this Office, for Mr. *Clayton* was with Mr. *Walpole* this Morning, who told him, ‘I know you have a great Interest with the *Prince* and *Princess*; but that shan't do, for no Interest in *England* shall hinder my giving this to *Horace Walpole*, who I can deny Nothing to he has a Mind to have.’ Mr. *Clayton* made a low Bow, and said, ‘Sir, I had never thought of it, if you yourself had not put me upon it, and I not only had your Promise confirmed by your Oath, but both you and Lord *Townshend* have promised it over and over to the *Prince* and *Princess*; and after

⁸ Charles Seymour, ‘the proud’ Duke of *Somerset*, K.G. (*Collins's Peerage* says), resigned his Appointment of Master of the Horse on the Committal of his Son-in-law, Sir *W. Windham*, to the Tower, he having a Promise that if Sir *W.* surrendered he should not be imprisoned.

⁹ Chancellor of the *Exchequer* in the Tory Government of Queen *Anne*, and afterwards Leader of the Jacobite Party in the *House of Commons*. His Son, Lord *Egremont*, succeeded to Part of the Duke of *Somerset's* vast Estates.

1715.

some more such Discourse they parted, and Mr. *Walpole* had been so afraid that Baron *Bernstorff* would speak to the *King* for it, that he got a Warrant of the *King* to give him Power to nominate a Secretary of the *Treasury*, which was a Thing unprecedented, it being usual for the *King* to nominate in such Cases. The *Prince* and *Princess* then engaged to get another Place for Mr. *Clayton*: it was one that Lord *Townshend* designed for Colonel *Selwyn*,¹ so that many Difficulties arose about it. The *Princess* sent me several Times to Baron *Bernstorff*, which Lord *Townshend* and Mr. *Walpole* perceiving, they grew enraged² to the last Degree, and saw it was from me that some of the Opposition came; and being already afraid of my Lord *Cowper*, they let out all their Malice in a great Degree, being helped by Lord *Sunderland*,³ who hated Lord *Cowper* of old, for differing with him in *Parliament* about a Thing in which Lord *Sunderland* was manifestly in the Wrong, and for which the late *Queen* would have discharged him, if my Lord *Cowper* had not mightily interceded for him.

Baron *Bernstorff* came soon after this to see

¹ Colonel *John Selwyn*, of *Matson*, in *Gloucestershire*, Member of Parliament, and Father of *George Selwyn*.

² It is not surprising that they were offended, when they discovered this Attempt to take the Patronage of their several Departments from them.

³ Charles third Earl of *Sunderland*, Son-in-law of the Duke of *Marlborough*,

under whom he served both in a military and diplomatic Character. He was Secretary of State to Queen *Anne*, and displayed Vigour in the Suppression of the *Sacheverel Riots*. From 1717 to 1721 he was at the Head of the Government. His second Son inherited the *Marlborough* Dukedom.

Lord *Cowper* and me. My Lord was called out to the Duke of *Somerset*. When he was gone, Baron *Bernstorff* began to talk of the Duke of *Somerset's* being out. I told him it was said in Town that his Place was to be given, after a Time, to the Duke of *Newcastle*.⁴ I saw he was not very well pleased that I had come out with it, and by his Manner I thought I could see it was true. When he was going away, he said, ‘Milord est beaucoup trop vif, et vous êtes beaucoup trop vive de votre côté. Les Ministres se plaignent fort de milord *Cowper*. Ils disent qu'il leur reproche trop souvent les Fautes qu'ils ont pu commettre.’ I said, ‘Je suis fâché, Monsieur, que vous croyez cela. Notre seul But est de bien servir le *Roi*.’ He said again, ‘Je vous dis que vous êtes trop viſſ tous les deux. Croyez-moi, cela ne vaut rien, cela tourne toujours en Ruine.’ And for fear I should not have heard these last Words, he said, with great Violence, ‘Je vous dis que cela tourne toujours en Ruine.’ One may guess what Effect this had upon me, for I sincerely believe it was the first Time that an English Lady that had Bread to put into her Mouth had been so treated on such an Occasion. I knew from whence all this Storm came, and plainly saw our Enemies had got the Better. The Duke of *Somerset* repeated to my Lord all the Conversation he had with Lord *Townshend* upon

⁴ Thomas Pelham, created in 1714 Duke of *Newcastle*, famous for his long Tenure of Office under *George II*.

1715. his Dismission. Lord *Townshend* came to the Duke of *Somerset*, and with a sorrowful Air told him he was sorry to say that the *King* had sent him to tell his Grace that he had no further Occasion for his Services. The Duke of *Somerset* then said, ‘Pray, my Lord, what is the Reason of it?’ Lord *Townshend* answers, ‘He did not know.’ Then says the Duke of *Somerset*, ‘By G——! my Lord, you lie. You know that the *King* puts me out for no other Cause but for the Lies which you, and such as you, have invented and told of me.’⁵ He further asked Leave to wait upon the *King*; but next Morning had a Message not to come till he was sent for. Lord *Cowper* had advised the Cabinet Council against this Step, when the Question was raised, so they did not acquaint him with it when it was done. The Cause they gave out was, that the Duke of *Somerset* had been with Sir *William Windham* at Sir *Edward Northey’s*⁶ Chambers, to consult with him if the Proofs against Sir *William Windham* amounted to Treason, before he surrendered himself; but I have since heard that they had only a Suspicion of its being so, from the Duke of *Somerset’s* Coach being seen waiting in the Street

* We must remember that this is the Duke of *Somerset’s* Account of the Conversation. It is not very probable that Lord *Townshend*, who was a Man of violent and irascible Temper, and who once drew his Sword upon his own Brother-in-law, Sir *Robert Walpole*, would have permitted such Language to be held to him with Impunity.

* Sir *E. Northey*, a famous Lawyer. *Swift*, in *The Bundle of Sticks*, says:—

‘Dispatch, or else that Rascal *Northey* Will undertake to do it for thee. And be assured the *Court* will find him Prepared to leap o’er Sticks or bind them.’

where Sir *E. Nortbey* lives, for the *Duke* was going to Mr. *Lechmere's*⁷ Chambers. My Lord fell ill again the *Saturday* following, and continued so a great While, which occasioned a Report that he was going out of his Place. Some said he had not Health to keep in. Others more truly said, ‘The Lords of the Cabinet Council were jealous of his great Reputation, and had a Mind to have him out, so were resolved to weary him out of it;’ which last Report was true, for they had resolved among themselves, without acquainting Baron *Bernstorff*, to put my Lord Chief Justice *Parker*⁸ into his Place. I kept House all this Time, and saw Nobody, and had enough to do to keep my Lord *Cowper* from giving up; and I am sure the Disputes and Arguments we had upon that Subject were wholly the Occasion of his staying in; and it was at least three Weeks before I could prevail.

The Month ending with the Solemnisation of the *Prince's* Birthday, which should have been solemnised the 30th, if it had not been *Sunday*, I went privately to wish them Joy, my Lord being very ill, so I saw them alone in the Bed-chamber. The *Prince* asked me what Lord *Cowper* said to the Duke of *Somerset's* being put

⁷ *Nicholas*, afterwards Lord *Lechmere*, Solicitor-General in 1714, Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaster* in 1717, and Attorney-General in 1718. He was one of the Managers against *Sacheverel*, and died of Apoplexy while at Table at *Camden House* in 1727.

⁸ Afterwards Earl of *Macclesfield*. Succeeded Lord *Cowper* as Chancellor in 1718. He supported the *King* against the *Prince and Princess*. This they never forgave, and the Resolution for his Impeachment originated at *Leicester House*.

1715. out. I said he knew Nothing of it. He said, ‘No more did I; for I opposed it once when it was named, and so they kept it from me.’ I said that was my Lord *Cowper’s* Case. The *Prince* said a thousand kind Things of Lord *Cowper*, and so did the *Princess*; and the *Prince* bade me tell him he wished he would not lay Things so much to Heart; that he looked upon him as an old Courtier, or else he had imparted some of his Experience to him, which was, when the *King* sided with what he thought not right, to endeavour to prevent it; and when he could not, to go on cheerfully. ‘And tell him, when I come to be King, all Things shall go to his Mind; and in the Meantime, whenever he has a Mind to take the other Pull in the Cabinet Council, I am ready to keep his back Hand.’ The *Princess* made as many Expressions as the *Prince* had done; but by some Words the *Princess* let drop, I perceived that she had been talked to by Baron *Bernstorff*, for meddling with what had been doing.

November. Baron *Bernstorff* came to see us twice in the Beginning of the Month; but I did not see him alone, nor open my Lips of any News at all. The 16th came the News that the Rebels had surrendered to the *King’s* Forces at *Preston*.⁹ I am so unfortunate as to have a great many Relations among them, though most of them are

⁹ *Preston*, in *Lancashire*, where the *Carpenter* and *Wills*, and were nearly all Rebels were defeated by Generals taken Prisoners.

Roman Catholics. Mr. *Foster*,¹ one of my Cousins, Knight of the Shire for *Northumberland*, was their General. The Messengers had been down in the Summer to take him up; but he had hid himself at my Cousin *Fenwick's*, of *Bywell*, so they did not get him. I conjecture that it was for the Sake of his Uncle² and Aunt that he was made General, and not at all from the Fitness of the Thing, for he had never seen an Army in his Life. The Concern and Agitation of Mind which my Lady *Crewe*³ had, for fear the Messenger should take him up, killed her, for she fell into Convulsions and died in four Days.

The Surrender of these Prisoners filled the Town with Joy, which was augmented by the News of a Victory in *Scotland*.⁴ The Illwill which was borne the Duke of *Argyle* made it to be mightily lessened, and even reported to have been none at all, but rather a Defeat; but the Consequences showed plainly that he had the Advantage, for the Rebels dispersed after it, and they had not above 1,500 Men together, till the *Pretender* came to them. It will be necessary to say a Word or two of the Duke of *Argyle* as a

¹ Thomas *Foster*, M.P. for *Northumberland*, chosen to be General of the Rebels not so much on account of his Position or Abilities as because he was a Protestant. He proclaimed the *Pretender* at *Warkworth*. He was taken Prisoner at *Prerion*, and sent to *London*, but escaped from *Newgate*.

² Lord and Lady *Crewe*.

³ Wife of Nathaniel *Crewe*, Lord *Crewe*, and Bishop of *Durham*.

⁴ Battle of *Sheriffmuir*, in *Perthshire*, between the Duke of *Argyle* and the Earl of *Mar*, indecisive in its immediate Results, but of which the *Duke* reaped the whole Advantage. The right Wing of the Highlanders broke and cut to Pieces *Argyle's* left Wing, while the Clans on the left of *Mar's* Army, though consisting of *Stewarts*, *Mackenzies*, and *Camerons*, were completely routed.

58. *Diary of Lady Cowper.*

1715. further Light to what shall follow. There had been a long Time a Misunderstanding and Hatred between the Duke of *Marlborough* and him. Each Side almost openly avowed it, or at least made no Secret of it, though both gave different Reasons. The Duke of *Argyle* said that the Duke of *Marlborough* hated him to that Degree, that in one of the Battles he had put him upon the most desperate Service there was, to get rid of him, which the Duke of *Marlborough's* Friends said was false, but that he, *Argyle*, left his Place⁵ and was forced to be brought back to it; but the Duke of *Marlborough* was sure that when Queen *Anne* changed her Ministry, the Duke of *Argyle* had gone to the *Queen*, and told her that the Army would follow any General as well as they would the Duke of *Marlborough*, and so laid the Foundation of the *Queen's* putting out the *Duke*.

Lord *Townshend*, Baron *Bernstorff*, Mr. *Walpole*, and Lord *Sunderland*, were all afraid of the Duke of *Argyle*, whose Favour with the *Prince* made them fear that one Day he would get the Better of them; so, to lessen his Reputation, he had been sent to *Scotland* with very few Troops, and even those that were to go to him, by the secret Orders of the Duke of *Marlborough*, were so long

⁵ These absurd Charges of Cowardice against the Heroes of a hundred Fights were frequent in those Days of virulent Party Spirit. *Swift* has the Impudence to accuse the Duke of *Marlborough* himself of Want of Courage. The Duke of

Argyle commanded twenty Battalions of Infantry at *Oudenarde*, and greatly distinguished himself at *Lille* and *Ghent*. He was at this Time Groom of the Stole to the Prince of *Wales*.

a coming, that the Earl of *Mar* had Time to strengthen himself. This made the Duke of *Argyle* fly out prodigiously. He complained loudly of the Ministry, and his Animosity at last grew so high, that he made himself to be more in the Wrong even than they had been.

The Talk continued that my Lord *Cowper* was to be turned out. Mrs. *Clayton* came one Night and said, she heard Lord *Cowper* was going to lay down. I answered, ‘He is, they say, going to be turned out. And they need not have given themselves that Trouble : if they had but hinted to my Lord that they were weary of him, he would have laid down. They know he has done that once already,⁶ which is more than ever will be said of them, and upon Occasion he can do so again.’ She repeated this to the *Prince*, who sent away immediately for Baron *Bernstorff*, and chid him for giving in to any such Thing. About this Time Mademoiselle *Schutz*⁷ came over to stay with Baron *Bernstorff*. She was a pretty Woman, and had good Qualities, but withal was so assuming, that she had made herself mightily hated at *Court*. We had been long and familiarly acquainted, so that I saw her often ; but the *Prince* had expressed so great a Dislike of her to me, that I was in a good deal of Pain how to carry myself between them. She now

⁶ In 1711.

⁷ Niece of Baron *Bernstorff*, and probably related to Monsieur *Schutz*, who

was Hanoverian Minister at the Court of Queen *Anne*.

1715. told me that Baron *Bernstorff* was very angry with me; that I had not treated him like a Friend; that I had not given him an Opportunity of seeing me alone for the last four Times he had been to see me. I must own that after what had passed at the last Visit at *Kensington* I thought they must both be beside themselves to talk to me in that Manner. However, at her Request, I agreed to see Baron *Bernstorff* on the Friday following.

Baron *Bernstorff* came as he had appointed. The Sum of his Busines was first to complain of Want of Friendship in me, that I had entertained a Thought that he was consenting that my Lord should be put out of his Place. I said I heard it was designed by the Ministry. Then he complained that I should have let him know. I said, coldly, that I knew he had so much other Busines, that I did not care to trouble him with Anything concerning me. He made a world of Expressions upon this Point, and said how little capable he was of suffering us to be injured; that the Place of Lord *Cowper* was sure, and that Nothing could take it from him but *God*, and that the *King* had all the Kindnes imaginable for him. I said I was very little attached to the Place; that One must be fond of a Thing before One can fear to lose it, and that it was too painful a Place to be fond of. Baron *Bernstorff* complained that my Lord *Cowper* was peevish and difficult, and that the *King* had told him so;

that he had excused my Lord *Cowper* to the *King*, but that he desired I would try to soften him, and make him compliable. I said I must beg Leave to say I was surprised to hear this Complaint, because it was the furthest Thing from his Character in the World, and I fancied he must have mistook the *King*. He hummed and hawed, and said a great deal upon this which I cannot remember, and then went away. I told my Lord what the *Baron* had said of him, who protested solemnly to me that he was so far from being conscious of having been guilty of what Baron *Bernstorff* accused him, that he did not so much as know what he meant by saying it; and by a great many concurring Circumstances I dare be positive that it was Lord *Townshend*, and not the *King*, that had complained of Lord *Cowper*; and that this was a political *Fineffe* of the *Baron's* to make my Lord submit to Lord *Townshend*, who grew at last so great a Favourite with Baron *Bernstorff* that he became wholly governed by him.

The 5th I went into Waiting. The *Princess* was extremely kind to me. The Coming of the *Pretender* into *Scotland*⁸ began to be talked of, though it did not happen so soon as was expected. This Week the Prisoners were brought to Town from *Preston*. They came in with their Arms

December.

⁸ He landed at *Peterhead* on December 22, 1715, and on January 2, 1716, made his Entry into *Dundee* and *Perth*; but on the Approach of the Duke of

Argyle retreated to *Montrose*, and embarked for *France*. His Flight may be said to have terminated the Rebellion of 1715.

1715. tied, and their Horses (whose Bridles were taken off) led each by a Soldier. The Mob insulted them terribly, carrying a Warming-pan⁹ before them, and saying a thousand barbarous Things, which some of the Prisoners returned with Spirit. The Chief of my Father's Family¹ was amongst them. He is above seventy Years old. A desperate Fortune had drove him from Home in hopes to have repaired it. I did not see them come into Town, nor let any of my Children do so. I thought it would be an insulting of the Relations I had here; though almost Everybody went to see them.

I forgot in the last Month a strange Offer made me by Mademoiselle *Schutz* from Baron *Bernstorff*, which was to let *Tom Foster* escape, if I had a Mind to it, upon the Road.²

⁹ In allusion to the Story invented by the Enemies of *James II.*, that the Infant Pretender had been brought into the Palace in a Warming-pan.

¹ Clavering of *Callaloo*.

² He effected his Escape from New-

gate, probably with the Connivance of the Government, a few Days before the Time appointed for his Trial, and died in *France* in the early Part of the Reign of *George II.*





1716.

HIIS Month used to be ushered in with New Year's Gifts from the Lawyers, which used to come to near 3,000*l.* to the Chancellor. The Original of this Custom was, Presents of Wines and Provisions, which used to be sent to the Chancellor by the People who practised in his Court. But in process of Time a covetous Chancellor insinuated to them that Gold would be more acceptable; so it was changed into Gold, and continued so till the first Time my Lord had the Seals: Everyone having blamed it that ever had the Seals, but None forbidding it.

Jan. 17.

The Earl of *Nottingham*,³ when Chancellor, used to receive them standing by a Table; and at the same Time he took the Money to lay it upon the Table, he used to cry out, 'Oh, tyrant Cuthtom!' (for he lisped). My Lord forbade the bringing them.⁴ I stayed at Home till the Middle

³ Heneage Finch, first Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord Chancellor in 1675. The *Amri of Dryden.*

⁴ The present Lord Keeper did another Thing of a great Example. On

the first Day of the Year it was become a Custom for all those who practised in *Chancery* to offer a New Year's Gift to the Lord who had the Great Seal. These grew to be so considerable that they

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1716. of the Month, and when I did go out was very weak.

Feb. 1. I stayed at Home all Day. Mr. Horneck,⁵ who wrote *The High German Doctor*, came here. He is just made a Solicitor of the Treasury, a Place worth 200*l.* per Annum. He told me that Sir Richard Steele had no Hand in writing the *Town Talk*, which was attributed to him; that it was one Dr. Mandeville⁶ and an Apothecary of his Acquaintance that wrote that Paper; and that some Passages were wrote on purpose to make believe it was Sir R. Steele. I also saw Mr. Woodford, who told me old Mr. Craggs had supped with him the Night before; and that he got out of him a Confirmation that Lord Chief Justice Parker was to be made a Peer, and to be Privy Seal in the room of the Earl of Sunderland, who was to be made some great Thing in the King's Closet. I believe that Baron Bernstorff had not been let into the Secret when he told me of his being to be a Peer.

Feb. 2. I went to wait upon the *Princess*, who received me very graciously. She was writing, in her

amounted to 1,500*l.* a Year. On the *New Year's Day* (1706), which was his first, he signified to all who, according to Custom, were expected to come with their Presents, that he would receive none, but would break that Custom. He thought it looked like the insinuating themselves into the Favour of the Court; and that if it was not Bribery, yet it came too near it and looked too like it. This contributed not a little to the raising his

Character. He managed the *Court of Chancery* with impartial Justice and great Dispatch, and was very useful to the *House of Lords* in the promoting of Business.⁷—*Burnet's History of the Reign of Queen Anne.*

⁵ Philip Horneck, Author of an *Ode to the Earl of Wharton.*

⁶ Author of the Fable of *The Bees*, published in 1714.

Closet, to Madame d'Orléans.⁷ She asked me after News, and expressed a very great Dislike to Lord Townshend and Mr. Walpole, seeming to insinuate they would ruin all. I took that Opportunity of asking her if she continued in the Resolution of being a Tory. She told me that till I could give her convincing Arguments that a Whig was more than a Tory for the King's Prerogative. I said I hoped to do so. I called upon Lady St. John on my Way Home, who is the most melancholy and afflicted Woman for the Loss of her Son⁸ that I ever saw in my Life. The Earl of Nottingham takes great Pains to insinuate the Tories into the Prince's Favour. The same Game is played by Lord Finch. What the Prince and Baron Bernstorff told me, the Dispute he raised about the High Steward of England, was done with ill Intention; for he knew if it had passed the House of Lords it would have been rejected by the House of Commons; and he hoped the Quarrel would have put off the Trials.

I went to visit Madame Robethon.⁹ Mr. Robethon came in to us, and brought Sir William Gordon¹ in with him. He was soliciting Succours

1716.

Feb. 3.

⁷ Charlotte of Bavaria, Mother of the Regent, Duke of Orleans, was the most voluminous and most improper Letter-writer in Europe.

⁸ George St. John, eldest Son of Sir H. St. John by the second Marriage, was Secretary to the English Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht. Died at Venice, 1716.

⁹ Madame Robethon was one of the Hanover Ladies of lower Rank; a remarkable Squatness of Person and a

croaking Voice obtained for her the Name of Madame Grenouille.

¹ Sir William Gordon, of Upton and Earlston, who distinguished himself greatly in the Battles of William III., was made Governor of Fort William in Scotland, honoured (1706) with a Scotch Baronetcy, and died in December 1718. See Burke's Peerage and Baronetage.

1716. for the Earl of *Sutherland*,² who he said would be swallowed up by Lord *Mar*,³ who it was sure would retreat towards *Murray* at the Approach of the Duke of *Argyle*. Mr. *Robethon* let fall some Words which shewed plainly he did not think so well of the Ministry as he had done before. I suppose they have got Something done against the Consent or without the Privity of the foreign Ministry. I own I laugh to see the Beginning of a Quarrel, after so much Love and Fondness undeserved. I went afterwards to wait upon the *Princess*. I found three or four of the Ladies in the Dressing-room. The *Princess* had ordered my Lord *Winchester*⁴ to let me have six Tickets for the Masquerade at *Montague House*, which he was pleased to dispose of otherwise; so I had but two, that the *Prince* had got for me with much Ado.

Feb. 4. I was two Hours alone with the *Princess*. She told me she found Baron *Bernstorff* was not near so fond of Lord *Townshend* and Mr. *Walpole* as he had been; but, in my Opinion, he tells her this to pacify her, and to get at her real Sentiments. She told me also that Lord *Anglesey*⁵ was

² John, fifteenth Earl, performed useful Service against the Rebels in *Scotland* by marching against *Inverness*, and preventing the Troops of the Earl of *Seaford* from joining the Earl of *Mar's* Army.

³ John, eleventh Earl, Secretary of State for *Scotland* in 1706. In 1715 he commanded the Army of the *Pretender*, and proclaimed him King by the Title of *James VIII*. He commanded at the

Battle of *Dumblain* or *Sheriffmuir*, and took Credit for a Victory, but eventually fled to *France*, and died in 1732.

⁴ Charles second Duke of *Bolton* was Marquis of *Winchester* at this Time.

⁵ Arthur *Anglesey*, fifth Earl of *Anglesey*, one of the Lords Justices on the Death of Queen *Anne*, was Vice-Treasurer of *Ireland* and High Steward of the University of *Cambridge*. Died in 1737.

put out, and Lord *Sunderland* into his Place. She seemed displeased at it; and said it was because the *Parliament of Ireland* fell upon him; and that it was unworthy in the Ministry to fall upon him too, because he had done Services in ill Times. To which I replied, it was true that he had done Good in one Vote (which was to serve a Purpose of his own), but that it was not done from a Principle of Honesty, for on the next Occasion, which was still of greater Consequence than the Former, he voted with his old Friends again; notwithstanding the Assurances he had given to the Contrary: that I should have thought the Ministry needed not to have stayed for this Occasion of putting out Lord *Anglesey*, he having given them a much better Cause before, when he made that flaming Speech about the Shaking of the *King's Sceptre*,⁶ just before the Rebellion broke out: that it suited ill with the *King's Honour* to keep him in after it. The *Princess* said, 'Why was it not done then?' I replied, I wished it had; but upon the Whole I begged her to content herself, for she might depend upon it that the Earl of *Anglesey* was a very ill Man, and that she would find him so. The *Princess* said that the Duke of *Argyle* was mightily in the Wrong for behaving himself so ill as he did. I endeavoured to appease her upon that Subject,

⁶ On the Vote of the *Commons* for
fending the Earl of *Oxford* to the Tower
(July 12, 1715). For the Debate eli-

cited by this Expression of Lord *Angle-
sey*, see *Parl. Hist.* vol. vii. c. 107.

1716. by telling her that he did not begin, but was used unreasonably. She said he had a great many good Qualities, but some Faults that covered them; that he was an inveterate Enemy, and apt to take Stories too lightly up; that he had opposed my being about her, and, in order to it, had told her that I had an Intrigue with the *King*. I answered that he did very ill to do so, for I could answer that I would not have an Intrigue with the greatest Man that ever was born, and that I hoped she believed it as firmly as I did, and did not want to have Arguments used to prove it, for I thought that was a sorry Virtue that wanted Arguments for its Defence. She fell a laughing, and replied, ‘ You have just now said what I said the Beginning of this Winter to Madame *Kielmansegge*; and I will tell you the Story, but you must not repeat it.’ Madame *Kielmansegge* had been told that the *Prince* had said that she had intrigued with all the Men at *Hanover*. She came to complain of this to the *Princess*, who replied, she did not believe the *Prince* had said so, it not being his Custom to speak in that Manner. Madame *Kielmansegge* cried, and said it had made her despised, and that many of her Acquaintance had left her upon that Story; but that her Husband had taken all the Care he could to vindicate her Reputation; and thereupon she drew forth out of her Pocket a Certificate under her Husband’s Hand, in which he certified, in all the due Forms,

that she had always been a faithful Wife to him, and that he had never had any Cause to suspect her Honesty. The *Princess* smiled, and said that she did not doubt it at all, and that all that Trouble was very unnecessary, and that it was a very bad Reputation that wanted such a Support. I believe it is the first Certificate of the Kind that ever was given. The most of what I can gather from the Conversation of To-night is, that Lord *Nottingham* and the Dukes of *Roxburgh* take mortal Pains to make the *Princess* think well of the Tories.

1716.

I dined at Madame *Gouvernet's* with Baron *Bernstorff* and others of his Relations. From thence I went to the Play, which was *The Cobbler of Preston*⁷—the Poet's Night. One might see the good Effects of the News which came Yesterday that the Rebels had abandoned *Perth*, and the King's Forces taken Possession of it; for there was not a Word that was loyal but what met with the greatest Acclamations.

Feb. 6.

February 7 was the masquerading Day. I could not go to Court till past seven o'Clock, because my poor youngest Boy was not well. When I got there, I found Sir John *Germaine* showing the *Princess* his Rarities, consisting of Seals and Reliefs. She had not Time to see them all this Evening, so many of the Masquers came in to show themselves. There was a Drawing-room

⁷ A Farce in two Acts, by Charles Johnson. Subject (*Le Braiseur de Preston*) was given at Paris in 1846.

1716. for the *King*, who was not there. I was told Everything was in great Order and Magnificence, and that the Entertainment could not have cost less than five or six hundred Pounds. Monsieur d'Iberville⁸ says amongst his Cronies that the *Pretender's* Retreat from *Perth* is all a Feint, and was concocted in *France* only to prolong the Time till the Regent of *France* can succour him openly.

Feb. 8. I waited in the Morning for the Duchess of *Bolton*, who had been at the Masquerade. The *Archbishop*⁹ came to wait upon the *Princess*, and brought with him the Missionaries of the King of *Denmark* that were going to the *East Indies*. They had with them a Boy, a Native of that Country. He shewed the *Princess* the Manner of their Writing, which is upon narrow and long Palmetto Leaves. He held an iron Pencil in his right Hand, and by the help of a Notch made in the Thumbnail of the left Hand, he guided the Pencil and wrote as he stood without laying the Leaf down upon Anything, but holding it in his Hand all the Time. This Boy was an olive-black; his Hair was as black as Jet, but it was long, and not like Wool. The *Archbishop* gave me a Book printed in the Malayan Character, such as this Boy wrote. I dined with Mrs. *Clayton*, where I found the Countess of *Dorchester*,

⁸ Envoy Extraordinary from *France*, sent to *George I.* with the Notification of the Death of *Louis XIV.* in 1715. He corresponded with the Adherents of the *Pretender*.

⁹ Dr. *Wake*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

who was in her Airs. I think she had a Mind to persuade me to go Home and advise my Lord to hang himself; at least her Discourse seemed to point at it, for she ran on much in his Praife, beyond that of others, and then said People were miserable that were engaged with Fools. ‘That,’ said she, ‘made the wife *Aabitopbel* hang himself; for you can’t be so weak as to believe that it was because *Absalom* would not follow his Advice. No; he was a wise Man, and was engaged with Fools: *Absalom* was so great a One himself, that *Aabitopbel* saw he was a King Nobody could ever make Anything of, for he would listen to no Advice, and the Rest he was joined with were such Fools, they were not capable of receiving good Advice, and he knew *David* to be a wise Man, and One that would not only lay the Blame of what was done against him upon *Aabitopbel*, but would even make him accountable for the Advice he had given; and from all this he might reasonably conclude that if he did not hang himself, *David* would hang him, so he chose wisely to have the doing of it himself.’ Just as she had said these Words, Monsieur *Schutz* brought in Word that an Express was arrived from the Duke of *Argyle*, who was got into *Dundee*. Soon after, the *Princess* called me in to see the Remainder of Sir *John Germaine’s* Rarities. They were the Collection of the late Earl of *Peterborough*.¹ Father

¹ Henry second Earl of *Peterborough*.

1716. to the famous Duchefs of *Norfolk*, who was divorced, and afterwards married Sir *John Germaine*. Amongst other Things, he showed us the Dagger of King *Henry VIII.*, which he always wore and is pictured with.

Feb. 9. The Day of the Trials. My Lord was named High Steward by the *King*, to his Vexation and mine; but it could not be helped, and so we must submit, though we both heartily wished it had been Lord *Nottingham*. The Form of the Attendance was this from hence. The Servants had all new Liveries; ten Footmen; four Coaches with two Horses, and one with six; eighteen Gentlemen out of Livery, and Garter at Arms and Usher of the Black Rod in the same Coach; Garter carrying the Wand. I was told it was customary to make fine Liveries upon this Occasion, but had them all plain. I think it very wrong to make a Parade upon so dismal an Occasion as that of putting to death One's Fellow-creatures; nor could I go to the Trial to see them receive their Sentences, having a Relation among them, my Lord *Widdrington*.² The *Prince* was there, and came home much touched with Compassion. What Pity it is that such Cruelties should be necessary!

Feb. 10. I went to *Court* in the Afternoon. The *Prince's* heard a Cause that kept her an Hour.

² William Lord *Widdrington*, Great-grandson of the Lord *Widdrington* killed on the *King's* Side in 1651, was one of the Lords impeached with the Earl of *Derwentwater* for a Share in the Rebellion. He was sentenced to Death, but afterwards pardoned.

It was a Dispute between the Ladies of the Bedchamber and the *Lord Chamberlain* and *Vice-Chamberlain*, in which I believe the Ladies were in the Wrong. It was about the two Officers above mentioned coming into the Bedchamber, which has been a Right always pretended to by them, and always contested by the Ladies.

My poor *Spencer*³ pretty well, for which I heartily thank God. This Morning, before I went out, I bought a Parcel of small Rubies and Emeralds of *Mizan*. Two Letters from *Mademoiselle Scbutz*. 'T is very troublesome to be writing thus at every Turn. I wish she had as much Occupation as I have. I dined at Mrs. *Clayton's* with my Lord and Lady *Halifax*,⁴ Lady *Dorchester*, and Lady *W. Pawlet*. Great Complaints of the Preamble to the Land Tax Bill⁵ cooked up by Mr. *Lecbmere* and Lord *Coningsby*.⁶ 'T is a defamatory Libel upon the late Queen and all her Ministry, the last all deserving to be hanged for what they have done. It is very injudicious for a House of Commons to brand any

³ Her second Son, afterwards Dean of *Durham*, and Author *inter alia* of a Work entitled, *A Dissertation on the Distinct Powers of Reason and Revelation*.

⁴ George second Earl of *Halifax* married, first, *Richard*, Daughter of *Richard Saltenstall*, of *Chipping Warden*, and, secondly, *Mary*, Daughter of *Richard Earl of Scarborough*.

⁵ For the Questions involved in this Preamble, and the Discussion which ensued, almost involving a Dispute between the two Houses of Parliament, see *Tindal's*

Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. part ii. p. 488, Folio Edition, 1747.

⁶ A Friend of the Duke of *Marlborough*, Paymaster of the Forces in 1704; created an Earl in 1719. He conducted the Impeachment of Lord *Oxford*. His Daughter married Sir *C. Hanbury Williams*.

'Here lies Lord *Coningsby*: be civil.
The Rest God knows, and perhaps the Devil.'
Also 'Coningsby Harangues.' Vide *Pope*.

1716. People they have before them in a judicial Way, before they come to their Trials, and my Lord *Halifax* said, if it was passed in the Manner in which it has passed the *House of Commons*, it will be a Reproach upon this Parliament never to be blotted out. My Lady *Dorchester's* Wit makes Amends for her Ugliness. She has always more to say for herself than Anybody. Sir *Isaac Newton*⁷ and Dr. *Clarke* came this Afternoon, to explain Sir *Isaac's* System of Philosophy to the *Princes*. I could not stay to hear them, having left my Lord not well. I am delighted beyond Measure to hear my Lord's Speech (at the pronouncing Sentence) so commended by Everybody, but I esteem Nobody's Commendation like Dr. *Clarke's*, who says 't is superlatively good, and that it is impossible to add or diminish one Letter without hurting it.⁸

Feb. 12. The News holds good that the *Pretender* and Lord *Mar* are gone; that my Lord *Drummond*⁹ went after them to the Vessel, on board which they were, in an open Boat. The Vessel is of *St. Malo's*, of ten Guns. Lord *Tinmouib*¹ was left behind by mistake. Earl *Marischal*² all this

⁷ Sir *Isaac Newton* was at this Time seventy-five Years of Age. He died in 1727.

⁸ The Speech is given in Lord *Campbell's* Life of Lord *Cowper*.

⁹ James second Duke of *Perth*, of *James II.'s* Creation, was at the Head of the Plot to seize the Castle of *Edinburgh* in 1715. Died at *Paris*, 1720.

¹ Son of the Duke of *Berwick*; had accompanied the *Pretender* from *France*

to *Scotland*.

² George *Keith*, Earl *Marischal*, one of the principal Supporters of the *Pretender*. At his Seat, *Fetteresso*, near *Aberdeen*, the *Pretender* met and conferred with the Rebel Lords. He entered the Service and became the Friend of *Frederick the Great*, under whom his Brother, Marshal *Keith*, attained to great Renown. 'Lord Marischal' seems to have been beloved and esteemed by all who knew him.

Diary of Lady Cowper. 75

While of their getting off was mounting Guard
at the Head-quarters, and knew Nothing of the
Matter. The *Squirrel* is in pursuit of this Ves-
sel, and is a good Sailor.

Stayed at Home with my Lord, who is very ill. I was to dine at Baron *Bernstorff's*, but excused myself. The Ladies that were there came here in the Afternoon. Mademoiselle *Schutz* is a very unreasonable Body, and would take no Hints that I wished to be alone, but took a Pleasure in staying, because I was uneasy at it.

The News was confirmed Yesterday. The *Pretender* is gone. My Lord is so ill, that he has a Mind to quit Office. I have made a Resolution never to press him more to keep his Place. I had a Letter from Mademoiselle *Schutz*, to offer to come to stay with me all Day. I thank her for Nothing. I had too much of her Impertinence last Night.

My Lord mighty ill, and still had a Mind to quit Office. I told him that I would never oppose Anything he had a Mind to do; and after arguing calmly upon the Matter, I offered him, if it would be any Pleasure done him, to retire with him into the Country, and quit too, and, what was more, never to repine at doing so, though it was the greatest Sacrifice that could be made him. I believe he will accept.

Mademoiselle *Schutz* came. She had been in

1716.

Feb. 13.

Feb. 14.

Feb. 15.

Feb. 15.

1716. the City to get a Suit of gold Ribbons. She had a Mind to have me give her them, but I can't help turning my deaf Ear to such unreasonable People. She had a Mind also to have some of my Jewels; which is pretty impertinent, when I am to be at the Birthday myself. Madame *Gouvernet* offered me an emerald Necklace; which I accepted rather because it was offered me, and I was afraid of disobliging her, than to make myself fine (for I don't care one Farthing for setting myself out, and I hope always to make it my Study rather to adorn my Mind than set off a vile Body of Dust and Ashes). Being thus provided of a Necklace, and Mademoiselle *Schutz* hearing of it, she desired to borrow my fine Pearl Necklace, which being of so great Value, I thought I had as good put it into my Hair; and so I told her I should be glad to accommodate her, but that all the Jewels I had I should use, and that I had so few, that I was often forced to borrow upon those Occasions myself. My Lord still ill. I am out of my Wits to see him suffer, which I declare is ten Times worse than Death to me, and would rather live with him all my Life on Bread and Cheeze, up three Pair of Stairs, than be all this World can make me and at the same Time see him suffer.

My Lord still ill. In my Perplexity, I told Mrs. *Woodford* my Griefs, and bid her ask Mr. *Woodford's* Advice; which she says he gave very kindly, and proposed that I should let him hint

to old Mr. Craggs⁴ that my Lord *Cowper's* Office was too hard for him ; and proposed that old Mr. Craggs having in the Days that the Ministry were cold to my Lord *Cowper* offered to Mr. *Woodford* that if my Lord was weary he might be Privy Seal ; and that being now designed for Lord Chief Justice *Parker*, who would certainly come into my Lord *Cowper's* Place, he might have the Privy Seal ; and that the Reversion of Sir *John Shaw's*⁵ Place should be added for two Lives. Sir *David Hamilton* had a Letter from my Lord *Carnwath*,⁶ who is his second Cousin, desiring to speak to him. He has had Leave, and is gone To-night.

Mrs. *Woodford* came to see me, not having rested well after I had told her the Night before my Lord was better, and did not talk so much of quitting. His Illness, I really believe, proceeded from the Fall he had.

Feb. 17.

The Duchess of *Marlborough* came in the Evening. I saw her, though I was very ill. She says the Duchess of *Roxburgh* is the greatest Enemy that either my Lord or I have. The

⁴ He is said to have been a Footman to Sarah Duchess of *Marlborough*, and was, at this Time, Postmaster-General. He amassed an immense Fortune, and was deeply implicated in the Frauds of the *South Sea Company*. He is supposed to have poisoned himself the Day before his Case was to come before the *House of Commons*. His Estate, valued at a Million and a Half, was confiscated. He died 1721, a few Weeks after his Son, who had been Secretary of State.

⁵ Probably Sir *John Shaw*, second Baronet, whose Father had obtained his Title for Services to *Charles II.*, and had been appointed one of the Farmers of Customs after the Restoration.

⁶ Robert Dalzell, Earl of *Carnwath*, was one of those who surrendered at *Preston* to General *Carpenter*. He was condemned to Death, but was pardoned and released in 1717. His Title was restored to his Descendants in 1826.

1716. Duchess of *Roxburgb* is certainly an ill Woman. She does not care what she says of Anybody to wreak her Malice or Revenge.

Feb. 18. My Lord better, to my great Joy. No Talk of quitting To-day, though I fairly laid it in his Way. This Morning Mademoiselle *Scbutz* came to see me. She's always begging Something or other, and would have borrowed my Diamonds to put in her Hair, and at the same Time said, 'I make no Scruple in borrowing them from you, because you are best in your State of Nature, and always worst when you are dress'd out, your Jewels not becoming you.' Commend me to the Assurance of these Foreigners !

Feb. 19. News of the *Preston* Folks, by the Judges and People come up from thence, is, that the Country is very obstinate ; that they would not believe that the *King* durst hang any of them till the very Day of Execution came. Sad Pleadings : some Sons drawn in by their Fathers, and Mr. *Shafto*⁷ by his Son, who forced him to take Arms. Mrs. *Collingwood*⁸ wrote to a Friend in Town to try to get her Husband's Life granted to her. The Friend's Answer was as follows : 'I think you are mad when you talk of saving your Husband's Life. Don't you know you will have five hundred Pounds a Year Jointure if he's hanged, and that you won't have a Groat if he's saved ?

⁷ Mr. *Shafto* was tried and shot at *Preston* soon after the Battle.

⁸ Mr. *Collingwood*, of *Ejlington, Northumberland*, who was executed at *Liverpool*,

March 8, 1715, was the last of the elder Branch of the Family of the famous Lord *Collingwood*.

Consider, and let me have your Answer, for I shall do Nothing in it till then.' The Answer did not come Time enough, and so he was hanged. They all pretend to know Nothing, and would have People believe this Affair was never concert'd, and Nobody knows how he came into this Rebellion. *God help them!* 'T is a wrong Way to Mercy to come with a Lie in their Mouth.

1716.

I went to Court, my Lord being gone to a Committee at the *Cockpit*.⁹ The *Princess* told me she had sent for Amber out of *Germany*, for Boxes for her Ladies; but as she loved and esteemed me a hundred Times more than any of the Rest, she would make a Distinction, and so pulled out of a Drawer a fine gold Box, and gave it me with Words which far exceeded its Value. The *Princess* is terribly vexed with Baron *Bernstorff*, that she sees so bigoted to Lord *Townshend* and Mr. *Walpole*. She told him he was an old Fool to be so led by the Nose by them. She chid the *King* also,¹ and told him he was grown lazy. He laughed, and said he was busy from Morning to Night. She said, 'Sir, I tell you they say the Ministry does Everything, and you Nothing.' He smiled, and said, 'This is all the Thanks I get for all the Pains I take.' The *Princess* has a great Mind to save Lord *Carnwath*.

⁹ The *Cockpit* at *Whitehall* stood on the Site of the present *Privy Council Office*, and at this Time, and for some Years afterwards, Councils were held there.

¹ George I. always spoke of her as 'cette Diablesse la Princesse.'

1716. She has desired me to get Sir *David Hamilton* to go and speak to him, to lay some Foundation with the *King* to save him ; but he will persist in saying he knows Nothing. 'T is a thousand Pities ! He's a Man of good Understanding, and not above Thirty. He has had his Education at *Oxford*, as One might guess from his Actions.

Feb. 21. My Lord is better. The Ladies of the condemned Lords brought their Petition to the *House of Lords* to solicit the *King* for a Reprieve. The Duke of *St. Albans*² was the Man chosen to deliver it, but the *Prince* advised him not to do so without the *King's* Leave. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* opposes the *Court* strenuously in the rejecting the Petition. Everybody in a Consternation. 'T is a Trap laid to undo the Ministry. I went to the *Princess*. She ordered me to go to the *Archbishop*, and talk with him. Lord *Townshend* came to the *Prince*, to beg of him to help ; and he answered, ' C'est une de vos Sottises, et à cette Heure vous venez me prier de vous aider ! ' I went To-night to *Court*. The Duchess of *Bolton*³ went with the Ladies, to make believe she was one of the Royal Family : though that won't do ; it's too plainly writ in her Face that she's *Penn's* Daughter, the quaking Preacher.⁴ The *Princess* chid her, and she made all the Ex-

² Son of King *Charles II.* by *Nell Gwynne*. He distinguished himself with the *Emperor's* Army at the Siege of *Belgrade*, and died in 1726.

³ The Duchess of *Bolton* was *Henrietta*

Crofts, natural Daughter to *James Duke of Monmouth* by *Eleanor*, Daughter of Sir *Robert Needham*.

⁴ A somewhat irreverent Description of *William Penn*.

cuses she could. She said Lady *Derwentwater*⁵ came crying to her, when the *Duke* was not at Home, and persuaded her to go to plead for her Lord.

I went this Morning to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. He says he's far from flying in the *King's* Face, after all the Obligations he has received from him, and that he thought himself in the right Way of serving him; but if the *King* was not of the same Opinion, he would stay at Home, which was all he could do. I'm afraid, by his Talk, that Bishop *Gibson*⁶ influences him. The *Archbishop* told me he had been closeted twice about this, once by the *Prince*, and once by Lord *Townshend*, by Order of the *King*, which was a Method he did not mightily admire, but had given the same Answers as to me. As I came out, Sir *David Hamilton* followed me with a Letter for the *Princess* from Lord *Carnwath*. I told her of it, and said, if she had not a Mind to receive it, I would take the Fault upon myself. She took the Letter, and was much moved in reading it, and wept, and said, 'He must say more to save himself. Bid Sir *David Hamilton* go to him again, and beg of him, for *God's* Sake, to save himself by confessing. There is no other Way; and I will give him my Honour to save

⁵ *Anna Maria*, Daughter of Sir *John Webb*, Bart. She was the Mother of two Sons, who died young, and a Daughter, who married Lord *Petre*.

Lincoln, and of *London* in 1720, a pious and learned Divine. He offended *George I.* by denouncing Masquerades, which His *Majesty* greatly enjoyed. Died in 1748.

⁶ Dr. *Edmund Gibson*, then Bishop of

1716. him if he will confess, but he must not think to impose upon People by professing to know Nothing, when his Mother⁷ goes about talking as violently for Jacobitism as ever, and says that her Son falls in a glorious Cause.' I sent for Sir D. Hamilton, and gave him the *Princess's* Orders. The *House* not up till Seven. The Petition received by a Majority of Five or Six.

Feb. 23. Lord *Nottingham* behaved sadly at the *House* Yesterday, saying he hoped the *King* would pardon the Prisoners if they confessed; nay, he hoped that he would pardon them though they did not confess. The Duke of *Bolton*, by Order of the *House*, waited upon the *King* with the Address of the Lords, to beseech him to reprieve such of the Lords as should deserve it, for as long Time as His *Majesty* shall think fit. To which the *King* returned this short Answer: — 'I shall always do what I think most for the Honour of my Government and the Safety of my Kingdoms.' The Lords that had gone astray the Day before plainly showed by their Looks that they felt they had played the Fool. Sir D. Hamilton has been with Lord *Carnwath*, who confesses to having seen the *Pretender* when in *France*. He says that he went to *France* upon the Death of his Wife⁸ (whom he doted on), and waited upon Queen *Mary* there, and told her he would have stayed

⁷ *Henrietta*, Daughter of Sir *William Murray*, Bart., of *Stanhope*. ⁸ *Alexander Earl of Eglinton*. He was married four Times.

* *Lady Grace Montgomery*, Daughter of

at Home, but that he thought it more for the *Pretender's* Service to take care of his Health, in order to serve him in his Expedition to *Scotland*. She answered very obligingly. She was living in a Convent, as she always is in Winter. She was laid upon a Bed. He stayed at a considerable Town, pretending to travel, for two or three Months, and then went to *Lorraine*, where he addressed himself to Mr. *Leslie*,⁹ who procured a Meeting with the *Pretender*. He went alone, up a Pair of Backstairs. The *Pretender* opened the Door to him, and led him into a Closet, where he had been writing. He had a great Surtout on over his Clothes. (This was in *January 1714*). The *Pretender* enquired after his Family, and how they were affected. He said he depended upon his Friends in *Scotland*. The Other said he would do well to make sure Friends in *England*; because the Others were not many of them Friends out of Principle, but in order to redress some Grievances, and that those were not to be trusted, and that he wished he would go to *Scotland*. To which the *Pretender* replied, 'I certainly will, if this Parliament of *England* don't give me Encouragement and Hopes of a Restoration.' Lord *Carnwath* saw the *Pretender* three Times, and believes he was reserved to him because he did not bring with

⁹ Probably a Relative of the Earl of *Rothes*, or of the Scottish Baronets *Leslie*, Cadets of the same House, created Baro-

nets in 1625, and who were zealous Admirers of the *Stuarts*.

1716. him a Letter from Queen *Mary*. He says he often saw Mr. *Lesly* and Sir *Thomas Higgens*¹ during the three Days' Stay he made, and they told him that the Scheme at that Time was, if the Parliament of *England* did not do Something towards a Restoration, then to engage the King of *Sweden*² to go to *Scotland* and establish him there.

The *King*, the *Prince*, and *Princess* all angry with Lord *Nottingham* for his Behaviour. Baron *Bernstorff* had the Assurance to tell the *Princess* that the *Prince* had done a great deal of Harm in talking about the *King's* Prerogative in the *House of Lords*; which is all a Banter, there being no Foundation for that Report. Mademoiselle *Schulenberg* in great Concern. She says the *King* is more vexed by what happened in the *House of Lords* than at Anything that has yet happened, insomuch that he said he should be ashamed to show himself after this. He takes it desperately ill of Lord *Nottingham*, who enjoys 15,000*l.* a Year among himself and Friends from the *King's* Bounty. I carried the Gag which was brought from *Preston* by Mr. *Carter* to *Court*, by Order of the *Princess*. A great Number of them were found at the House of one *Shuttleworth*, a Papist, afterwards hanged. He was famous for saying he hoped in a little Time to see *Preston* Streets running as fast with

¹ Evelyn speaks of Sir *Thomas Higgens*, who was Envoy of *James II.* at *Venice* in 1686.
² *Charles XII.*

heretic Blood as they do with Water when it has rained twelve Hours. The Gags are really frightful. They go down the Throat a great Way, with a Bend, and under that there is an iron Spike that runs into the Tongue if it is stirred, and the Ends have Screws that screw into the Cheeks. We sat up till past Two, to do a pleasing Office, which was to reprieve four of the Lords in the *Tower*, though the Earl of *Nithsdale*³ had made his Escape; but it was not then known, and so he was reprieved with the Rest.

I did not go out To-day. Sir *David Hamilton* came to me, and told me he had been with my Lord *Carnwath*, who knew Nothing of his Reprieve till eight o'Clock this Morning. It was joyful News to him. Lord *Derwentwater* expected a Reprieve. The Folly of his Wife and Relations, in making the *Parliament* meddle, did him a great deal of Harm. He had treated the *Council* with a good deal of ill Manners and foolish Cunning when he was examined about a Letter from the *Pretender*, which thanked him for transmitting Money so generously, commanding also his Uncle *Tom*,⁴ and saying very hard Things of his Uncle *Will Ratcliffe*, with

1716.

Feb. 24.

³ *William Maxwell*, Earl of *Nithsdale*, was taken Prisoner at *Preston*, and condemned to Death. He resided in *France* and *Italy* till his Death in 1744. Lady *Nithsdale* was a Daughter of the Marquis of *Powys*. There is a very interesting Letter from her to her Sister, giving an

Account of the Particulars of her Husband's Escape, quoted by Mr. *Jeffé* in his *Memoirs of the Pretenders and their Adherents*.

⁴ *Thomas Ratcliffe* was an Officer in the Army.

1716. many Particulars, by some of which the Ministry had found out suspected Persons' Lodgings, and seized upon Papers of Consequence. When he was asked about the Letter, he denied Everything, and said it was a Trick of his Uncle *Will* to do him a Mischief. He was also the First to take up Arms. These Things made him to be pitched upon as a Lord among the English, as my Lord *Kenmure*⁵ was among the Scotch, he having commanded the Forces by a Commission from the Earl of *Mar*. They both suffered this Morning, my Lord Viscount *Kenmure* with great Courage and Intrepidity. He made no Speech, nor any Sign to the Executioner, but bid him take his own Time. The Earl of *Derwentwater*⁶ was young, not yet thirty ; and Death at that Age, to One bred up in Softness and Ease, is a dreadful Thing. It dismayed him at first, but he recovered himself and read a Speech to the People, which he afterwards gave to the *Sheriff*. In it he declared that he died for his King, and was sorry he had pleaded guilty, because by that he had, in a Manner, owned the Title of a Person he did not think had any Right to the Throne ; but that his Friends had persuaded him to it, as the best

⁵ *William Gordon*, Viscount *Kenmure*, commanded the Rebels in the Southwest of *Scotland*. He was of a singular good Temper, and too calm and mild for such a Post, says *Robert Patten*. He was beheaded with Lord *Derwentwater* on February 24, 1716.

⁶ *James Radcliffe*, Earl of *Derwentwater*, possessed great Estates and much Influence in the North of *England*. He was executed when only twenty-five Years of Age. *Smallett* says, 'He was an amiable Youth, brave, open, generous, hospitable, and humane.'

Means to save his Life. A Postscript was added, writ by another Hand (which he read also), which said that if the Person in possession of the Crown had given him his Life, his Honour would have obliged him never to have borne Arms against him more. It was plain by the whole Speech that it came out of a spiteful Priest's Head. It was designed by his Friends that his Body should have lain about, to move Pity, for they had not so much as provided a Coffin, so it was wrapt up in a Piece of black Baize, and put into a Coach. Fatal Necessity, that it should be necessary for the Wellbeing of the Community that our Fellow-creatures should suffer! God grant us Peace to heal all our Divisions, and to take away the Rancour we have now among us! It is confirmed that Lord *Nithsdale* is escaped. I hope he'll get clear off. I never was better pleased at Anything in my Life, and I believe Everybody is the same.

Sir *D. Hamilton* cannot get into the *Tower* to Lord *Carnwath*. They are more strictly kept since the Escape. I was with the *Princess*, who had just received a Letter from Madame d'*Orléans* stuffed with Lies of the Jacobites, which they wrote from *England* just before the *Pretender* got to *Lorraine*. The *Princess* says the *King* and *Prince* are much displeased with Lord *Nottingham*. She thinks Monsieur *Robetbon* a Knave, and Baron *Botbmar* another. Company came in and stopped our Conversation.

1716.

Feb. 25.

1716.Feb. 26.

Baron *Bernstorff* made a Visit to my Lord *Cowper* upon two Subjects. The One to let him know that there should be no more Executions of the Peers in Prison, and that the Ministry were resolved to put out Lord *Nottingham*⁷ and Lord *Aylesford*.⁸ My Lord opposed it at present, and thought it better to try them again, and put them out the next Occasion they gave; and if they gave none, then it was well it was not done. Baron *Bernstorff* said it must positively be done now, for if they did not take this Opportunity, they, maybe, might not be able to do it when they would.

Feb. 27.

Mademoiselle *Schutz* dined here, as did Lady *W. Pawlet*.⁹ Mademoiselle *Schutz* so impertinent, she made me quite peeved. To-day my Lord *Nottingham* and my Lord *Aylesford* were put out of their Places.

Feb. 29.

Monsieur and Madame *Robetbon*, Lady *W. Pawlet*, and Madame de *Gouvernet* dined here. Mr. *Robetbon* spoke to me to propose to my Lord *Cowper* to change his Place of Chancellor for that of President of the Council. I have spoke to him, and he refuses, and says if they will

⁷ Daniel second Earl of *Nottingham*, one of the Chief Secretaries of State, 1702-4, was Lord President of the Council from 1714 to February 1715-16, when he retired, and 'lost a Penion of 2,500*l.*, having given Umbrage to the Court by pleading in behalf of the condemned Lords.' *Collins' Peerage*, vol. iii., p. 400 (Edition 1812).

⁸ *Heneage Finch*, created Earl of *Aylef-*

ford in 1714, and the same Year appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaster*, who resigned, or was 'put out' of, Office in February 1715-16.

⁹ The first Wife of Lord *W. Pawlet* was *Louisa*, only Daughter of the Marquis de *Monpauillon*, in *Holland*. His second Wife was *Anne*, Daughter and Coheir to *Ralph Egerton*, of *Betley*.

have him quit, he will do it, but he will not change. I represented to Monsieur *Robetbon* it would be a great Difficulty to persuade him to be President of the Council, he not speaking the French Tongue. He replied, ‘Pray use all your Art to get it done, or it will break all their Measures, for such is their Scheme.’

The *Princess's* Birthday. I am ill, but I must go to wish her many Years of Health and Happiness; which I unfeignedly do, for she's a most charming, delightful Friend, as well as Mistres. She tells me that Baron *Bernstorff* had been with the *Prince*, to persuade him to agree to make Lord *Cowper* President of the Council; but the *Prince* absolutely denied giving in to it, unless my Lord desired it, and insisted upon it, and she added that the Ministry should never draw them into, or force them to give Consent to Anything that was against my Lord *Cowper's* Inclination. I gave the *Princess* a thousand Thanks, and desired a Continuation of her Favour, and said my Lord *Cowper* was ready to quit if they had Anybody better to put in his Room, but would never change that which he could acquit himself of with Honour for what he could not perform at all.

At Court. The Duchess of *Roxburgb*, the March 3.
Duchess of *Marlboroug'b*, and Lady *Townshend*¹ with her. The Duchess of *St. Albans* came in.

¹ Dorothy, Sister of Sir Robert Walpole.

1716.

The Conversation was about the Discontent of the Duchess of *Cleveland*² that her Lord was not made Something. She wanted to turn out my Lord *Derby*³ from being Captain of the *Beefeaters*, and place His *Grace* in his Room. The Company laughed that the *Duchess* should take it into her Head to think him fit for Anything who is a natural Fool. The Duchess of *Marlborough* turned to Lady *Townshend*, and said, ‘That’s no new Thing with her, for I dare say she thinks him fit for Anything—to be in your Lord’s Place, for example.’ Lady *Townshend* was nettled, and pulled up, as if it had been a violent Affront. The *Duchess* added, ‘Or in my Lord Chancellor’s.’ I was so merry with Lady *Townshend’s* offended Air, that I laughed, and said, ‘With all my Heart.’

March 6.

At Court. An extraordinary Light⁴ in the Sky, described to me since by Dr. *Clarke*, who saw it from the Beginning. First appeared a

² Anne, Daughter of Sir *W. Pulteney*, of *Mifflerton*, Wife of *Charles Fitzroy*, Duke of *Cleveland*, eldest Son of *Barbara Villiers*, Duchess of *Cleveland*, and *Charles II.*

³ James, tenth Earl, served under *William III.* in *Flanders* with some Distinction. Died 1735, without Issue male.

⁴ In the *Historical Register* for 1716 there is an Account of this Phenomenon. ‘March 6. The same Evening, about eight of the Clock, was seen a strange Phenomenon in the Sky. It appeared at first like a huge Body of Light, compact within itself, but without Motion; but in a little Time it began to move and separate, extending itself towards the West,

when it seemed, as it were, to dispose itself into Columns or Pillars of Flame. From thence it darted south-east with amazing Swiftnes, and after many undulatory Motions and Vibrations, there appeared to be a continual Fulguration, interspersed with green, red, blue, and yellow. Then it moved towards the North; from whence, in a little Time, it renewed its wavy Motions and Coruscations as before, which continued to be seen till past Three in the Morning.’ Mr. *Gibson*, the Antiquary, in his *Dilston Hall, or Memoirs of the Earl of Derwentwater*, says that the Phenomenon has ever since been known as ‘Lord *Derwentwater’s* Lights.’

black Cloud, from whence Smoke and Light issued forth at once on every Side, and then the Cloud opened, and there was a great Body of pale Fire, that rolled up and down, and sent forth all Sorts of Colours like the Rainbow on every Side; but this did not last above two or three Minutes. After that it was like pale elementary Fire issuing out on all Sides of the Horizon, but most especially at the North and North-west, where it fixed at last. The Motion of it was extremely swift and rapid, like Clouds in their swiftest Rack. Sometimes it discontinued for a While, at other Times it was but as Streaks of Light in the Sky, but moving always with great Swiftnes. About one o'Clock this Phenomenon was so strong, that the whole Face of the Heavens was entirely covered with it, moving as swiftly as before, but extremely low. It lasted till past Four, but decreased till it was quite gone. At One the Light was so great that I could, out of my Window, see People walk across *Lincoln's Inn Fields*, though there was no Moon. Both Parties turned it on their Enemies. The Whigs said it was *God's Judgment* on the horrid Rebellion, and the Tories said that it came for the Whigs taking off the two Lords that were executed. I could hardly make my Chairmen come Home with me, they were so frightened, and I was forced to let my Glass down, and preach to them as I went along, to comfort them. I'm sure Anybody that had

1716.

overheard the Dialogue would have laughed heartily. All the People were drawn out into the Streets, which were so full One could hardly pass, and all frighted to death.

March 7.

This Day the Lords had a further Reprieve for a Fortnight. Lord *Winton's*⁵ Trial put off for a Week longer. The Town full of Lies of what was seen in the Air last Night. Papers printed and sold that two Armies were seen to fight in the Air, that two Men with flaming Swords were seen to fight over *Lincoln's Inn Fields*. The Mob that went to Mr. *Linet's* Burial last Night said they saw two Men in the Sky fight without Heads. This *Linet* was Curate to the famous Dr. *Walton* of *Whitechapel*, who was suspected to be a Jesuit, and upon a Quarrel with Dr. *Kennett*,⁶ Dean of *Peterborough*, had got an Altar-piece painted and set up in his Church, where Dr. *Kennett's* Picture was drawn for *Judas Iscariot*, and, to make it the more sure, had the Doctor's great black Patch put under the Wig upon the Forehead. But to return to *Linet* the Curate, he was a Jacobite, but forced by the late Act of Parliament to take the Oaths, or else quit his Preferment. He took them the *Wednesday* before, much against his Will,

⁵ George Seton, Earl of *Winton*, was a Man of very eccentric Character. He made his Escape from the Tower, and died at *Rome* in 1749.

⁶ Dr. *White Kennett*, Dean and afterwards Bishop of *Peterborough*, a learned

and able Divine, wrote an answer to Dr. *Sacheverel's* Sermon. The Bishop of *London* ordered the Picture mentioned here to be taken down. *Kennett* was held in great Odium by the High Church Party. He died in 1728.

and they choked him, for he actually died the 1716.
next Day of no other Disease but swearing to
the Government.

A great deal of Pains taken to gather a Mob March 8.
in Memory of Queen Anne's Accession to the
Throne this Day; but it would not do.

At the Drawing-room. The *King* not there. March 9.
Came away early. Lost my Chairmen and Ser-
vants; forced to borrow of the Duchess of *Sbrews-*
bury; and came Home in the first Hackney I
could get.

After the Evening Service, went to *Court*. March 10.
The *Princess* bid me stay to sup with her. There
were the Duchesses of *Monmouth*⁷ and *Rox-*
burgb and Madame *Buckenburghb* in the Apart-
ment. The Duchess of *Monmouth* entertained
us with Stories of King *Charles*'s Court and
Death as follows:—King *Charles* was taken ill
in the Morning, as he was getting up. Sir *Ed-*
mund King, one of his Physicians, found him
lying without Sense or Motion, upon which he
immediately bled him about Ten in the Morn-
ing.⁸ He lay in the Fit till Seven at Night, at
which Time, coming to himself, and staring
violently about him, he asked, ‘What is the
Matter with me?’ (for they, after trying all
Tricks possible, had clapped a hot Warming-pan

⁷ Heiress of *Buccleuch*, married when
thirteen to the Duke of *Monmouth*, who
was fourteen. She is highly spoken of
by contemporary Writers. *Dryden* styles
her ‘Patroness of his poor unworthy

Poetry.’ Three Years after *Monmouth*'s
Execution she became the second Wife of
Charles third Lord *Cornwallis*.

⁸ See the Narrative in *Evelyn's Diary*.

1716. upon his Head, which had brought him to himself) and ‘What have you done to me?’ The Duke of *York* stood at the Bed’s Feet, near the *King’s Head*, which was turned that Way, and cried out aloud to him, with great Hardness, ‘You have had a Fit, Sir! You have had a Fit, Sir!’ But the *Duchess* could not perceive that the *King* heard him, for he immediately fell a snoring.* The *Duchess of Portsmouth* was not in the Room when the *Queen* was there, but at all other Times, as were all the Ladies of that Office to him. The *Duchess of Portsmouth* had lately been persuading the *Princess* that the *Queen* was extremely fond of her, and that she took great Care of her once, lest she should miscarry. The *Duchess of Monmouth* said it was quite the Contrary, but that she never saw Anything that other People could see, and might mistake the *Queen’s* Contempt of her for Civility and Compliment. She was so blind that of a long Time she did not perceive the *King’s* Intrigue with Madame *Mazarin*, long after it was public to Everybody else. As soon as she perceived it, she went to Everybody to complain that the *King* forsook her for a Woman that had neither Beauty nor Merit (according to her Opinion). The *Duchess of Monmouth* told us the *King* had long been weary of the *Duchess of Portsmouth*, but the Ascendant that his Heart had given her over him at first,

* On the Death of *Charles* she returned to *France*, but wasted her Fortune in Gambling. She revisited *England* in 1699 and 1715, and died in 1734, aged ninety.

and then the Support she had from the Court of *France*, whose Tool she was, hindered his quitting her, and the *Duchess* gave some Instances which were good Proofs of the Truth of this Assertion; one of which was the Manner he spoke to one of his Lords who was with him in the Duchess of *Portsmouth's* Chamber, when the Doctors said she could not live Half-an-hour, and that she had sent to the *King* to take her Leave of him, and recommend her Son to his Protection. The *King* stood pretty carelessly at the Window, and this Lord came up to him, and lamented over the *Duchess* (whom he thought dying) to the *King*. To which he replied, ‘God’s Fish! (that was his common Oath) I don’t believe a Word of all this; she’s better than you or I are, and she wants Something; that makes her play her Pranks over thus. She has served me so often so, that I am as sure of what I say as if I was Part of her.’ The Duchess of *Portsmouth* is going to *France* again. She had some Hopes of getting Arrears of Pension, which made her come over.

I went in the Evening to take my Leave of my Sister *Cowper*,¹ who is going to *Hertford*. This Day poor Madame *Gouvernet* was taken ill of a Palsy. ’T is a thousand Pities. She is the most charming, agreeable Woman in the World, without any of the ill Humours of Eighty, though of those Years.

1716.

March 12.

¹ *Pennington*, Wife of *Spencer Cowper*, who lived at *Hertford Castle*.

1716. The Duke of *Bolton*, who, without the *King's*

March 14. Leave, or giving me any Notice, had signed a Warrant to bid Mr. *Lowman* remove my Furniture out of the Lodgings at *Kensington*, came in the *House of Lords* to my Lord to excuse it, and say it was a Mistake. I had got the *King* spoke to about it, who had ordered him to leave me those Lodgings.

March 15. Trial of my Lord *Wintoun*. My Lord *Cowper*

^{16.} High Steward. 'T is 'grinning Honour,' as Sir *John Falstaff*² calls it, for there is not one Farthing's Allowance for all the Expense. The *Commons* differ about some imaginary Right they pretend to, so the giving Sentence is put off till *Monday*. Lord *Nottingham* behaved shamefully, so did Lord *Aylesford*, insomuch that Lord *Harcourt*³ was ashamed to see them persist so much in the Wrong, and gave up the Matter.

March 17. Supped at *Court*. The *Princess* very well and cheerful. The Duchess of *Roxburgh*, the Duchess of *St. Albans*, Madame *Buckenburgh*. The Duchess of *Roxburgh* told us a strange Story, which Sir *Coplestone Bampfylde*⁴ told to some Mrs. *Price*, which Mrs. *Price* told Mrs. *Howard*, which Mrs. *Howard* told the Duchess of *Roxburgh*, who told it us.

Sir *Coplestone Bampfylde* coming up to Town,

² 'I like not such grinning Honour as Sir *Walter* hath.'—*Henry IV.* Act v.
Sc. 3.

³ Simon Lord *Harcourt*, Lord Chancellor in the Tory Government of the

last Years of Queen *Anne's* Reign. The Patron and Friend of *Pope* and *Swift*.

⁴ Sir *Coplestone Bampfylde*, Bart., M.P. for *Devonshire* till his Decease in 1727, and Ancestor of Lord *Poltimore*.

at an Inn found a Scotch Pedlar, who offered him twenty-four Ells of fine Holland so cheap that he bought it, and carefully put it up into his Portmanteau himself, the Holland being tied up in a Paper, and the Portmanteau made secure. As they were travelling upon some great Plain (perhaps *Salisbury Plain*), with his own Man and a neighbouring Gentleman, a sudden Light shone round them, which frightened their Horses as well as them, so that Sir *Coplestone* and his Neighbour were thrown, and the Footman rode away two Miles. When the Gentlemen got up, they found their Man gone, and, talking to one another of what happened, saw at a little Distance Something white, which they, going to look at, found to be the twenty-four Ells of fine Holland, stretched out as for Whitening upon the Ground. When the Man came back again, they looked into the Portmanteau, and found it fast, and the Paper and String which contained the Holland whole; but when they came to open it, the Holland was gone, to their great Amazement. I think the Story wants a better Authority than any I have yet named to make it be believed. Sir *Coplestone* is a drunken country Gentleman, and if he did not invent this (which I am afraid he did), yet it may be a drunken Fume; and it seems to me he did not mightily believe it himself, for he says he has made the Holland into Shirts, and expects that some

1716.

1716. murdered Body will come and demand them of him one Day or another.

The Duchess of *Roxburgb* is a great Believer in Ghosts. She is the most credulous Woman alive, and this is not the first Story of this Kind that I have heard her tell.

March 19. An Expedient found to keep the Peace between the two Houses. My Lord *Winton* had sawed an iron Bar with the Spring of his Watch⁵ very near in two, in order to make his Escape; but it was found out. He received Sentence of Death, but behaved himself in a Manner to persuade a world of People that he was a natural Fool or mad, though his natural Character is that of a stubborn, illiterate, ill-bred Brute. He has eight Wives. I can't but be peevish at all this Fuss to go Fool-hunting; sure, if it is as People say, he might have been declared incapable of committing Treason.

March 20. At the Drawing-room. *George Mayo* turned out for being drunk and saucy. He fell out with Sir *James Baker*, and in the Fray had pulled him by the Nose.

March 21. Baron *Bernstorff* made a Visit to my Lord and me. He is afraid of ill People that influence the Prince and Princess by telling Lies of the Whigs being against the King's Prerogative. Desired me to use Endeavours to prevent it.

Before he went away came in Mademoiselle *Schutz*. The Chariot was at the Door to carry

⁵ This gives us an Idea of the Size of Watches in those Days.

me out; but Mademoiselle *Schutz*, without asking 1716. if I could let her stay, had sent away her Chairmen, and bid them not come till ten o'Clock. I told her I was sorry I could not stay so long, but that I was obliged to go to *Court*. She said, 'I'll go with you ;' to which I said, in a Fright, ' I hope you know Nobody goes into the Dressing-room up the Backstairs but those that belong to the Bed-chamber ? ' This I said because she had come that Way, and had twice sent in her Name, and the *Prince's* had ordered them to bid her go the other Way. Hearing that I was to dine the next Day with Mrs. *Clayton*, she invited herself too. I never saw such Airs of Importance in my Life.

Dined with Mrs. *Clayton*, Mrs. *Wallop*,⁶ Lady *March 22.* *Herbert*,⁷ Mrs. *Dives*,⁸ Mrs. *Howard*, Mademoiselle *Schutz*, Monsieur *Schutz*, &c. Mrs. *Clayton* in Raptures at all the kind Things the *Prince* had been saying of the English,—that he thought them the best, the handsomest, the best shaped, the best natured, and lovingest People in the World, and that if Anybody would make their Court to him, it must be by telling him he was like an Englishman. This did not at all please the Foreigners at our Table ; they could not contain themselves, but fell into the violentest, filiest, ill-mannered Invective against the English that ever was heard, and Nothing could make

⁶ Probably the Widow of *John Wallop*, *Pembroke*, was a Bedchamber Woman to Esq., whose Son was created Viscount *Lymington*, 1720, and Earl of *Portsmouth* Smith.

^{1743.}

⁷ Mrs. *Herbert*, Sister-in-law to Lord

⁸ Niece of Lady *Sundon*.

1716. Monsieur *Schutz* believe that there was one handsome Woman in *England*.

April 1. At the Communion with the *Princess*. She received it in the Drawing-room of her own Apartment, whither she came out of her Bed-chamber, where she had heard the Sermon. Dr. *Dunster*⁹ preached an intolerable dull Sermon, to the Degree of an Opiate. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* administered the Communion. He gave (after the Priest that was to help him) to the *Princess* in both Kinds, and then the Bread to the Clergy first, and so round the Room, and the Minister gave the Cup.

In the Afternoon came in Mrs. *Clayton*, Lady *Powles*, and Lord *Harboroug^b*.¹ Friday Night Mr. *Mickelwaite* was set upon by nine Footpads, who fired at his Postillion without bidding him stand, just at the End of *Bedford Row*, in the Road which goes there from *Pancras Church* to *Gray's Inn Lane*. His Servants and he fired at them again, and the Pads did the same, till all the Fire was spent, and then he rode through them towards the Town, to call for Help, it being dark, which they seeing they could not prevent, ran away. Near that Place, under the dead Wall of *Gray's Inn Garden*, a Gentlewoman, coming Home with her Son about Half-an-hour after Ten of *Saturday Night*, two Men met them, one of whom struck the Lanthorn out of her Son's

^a Probably the Rev. Thomas *Dunster*, ¹ *Bennet*, first Earl of *Harborough*. Died D.D., Warden of *Wadham College*. in 1732.

Hand, and ran away with his Hat and Wig. She cried out, ‘Thieves!’ and they shot her immediately through the Head, and are not yet discovered.

1716.

Two intercepted Letters from Monsieur d’*Uxelles*² to Monsieur d’*Iberville* show that *France* is afraid of breaking with *England*. They are setting Treaties on foot by the means of Monsieur *Devenvorde*,³ whose Vanity, the Letters say, must be first worked upon, and then it must be shwon him how much it is to be his private Interest. The French hate the Earl of *Stairs*.⁴

Dine with Baron *Bernstorff* to meet my Lord and Lady *Sunderland*, who did not come. Took a Piece of Velvet of Mademoiselle *Schutz* for my Sister *Betty*, at six Francs the Dutch Ell. She borrows of me a lace Head for the 28th of *May*. (Commend me to a modest Assurance! It lifts One out of many a Pinch, I find.) Monsieur *Robetbon* came to Baron *Bernstorff* either drunk, or so impertinent, there is no enduring him; but the *Princess* always says that Monsieur *Robetbon* is the best Man in the World, but he is insupportable when he pretends to be witty or pleasant. Mademoiselle *Schutz* speaks about the Earl of *Rochester’s*⁵ Place, that it would be acceptable. Baron *Bernstorff* does not care to

April 2.

² Marshal d’*Uxelles*, then French Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Ambassador at *Paris*, obtained from the *Regent* the Expulsion of the *Pretender* from the French Dominions.

³ Was appointed Ambassador from the States to *England* in 1715. His Letters are among the *Hanover Papers*.

⁵ Grandson of the famous Chancellor *Clarendon*. Was Joint-Treasurer of *Ireland* with Arthur Earl of *Anglesey*. Suc-

⁴ John Earl of *Stair*, at this Time

1716. conceal his Name. Lady *Sunderland* gone, for a Cough and Sort of Hectic, to *Kensington*.

April 4. Countess of *Buckenburgh* said, in a Visit, that the English Women did not look like Women of Quality, but made themselves look as pitifully and sneakingly as they could; that they hold their Heads down, and look always in a Fright, whereas those that are Foreigners hold up their Heads and hold out their Breasts, and make themselves look as great and stately as they can, and more nobly and more like Quality than the Others. To which Lady *Deloraine*⁶ replied, ‘We show our Quality by our Birth and Titles, Madam, and not by sticking out our Bosoms.’ The Countess of *Buckenburgh* speaks English pretty well, but sometimes makes comical Mistakes; the other Night she wanted to know what they call the Man of a Goat (meaning a He-goat), and the Man of a Sheep that is mentioned in the *Psalms*.

April 6. Baron *Bernstorff* dined here with Lady *W. Powlett* and Mademoiselle *Schutz*. The Housekeeper forgot the middle Dish of the Dessert.

Baron *Bernstorff* spoke to me to recommend to my Lord that Part of the *Triennial Bill* which related to *Scotland*, which was doing by Lord *Islay*.⁷ He said he found that the Duke of *Argyle* and Lord *Islay* were doing all they could to draw

ceeded his Cousin in the Earldom of *Clarendon* in 1723. He and his only Son, Lord *Cornbury*, died in 1753.

⁶ Anne, Wife of Lord *Henry Scott*, created Earl of *Deloraine* in 1706. He was a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to

the Prince of *Wales*.

⁷ Archibald Earl of *Islay*, Brother of the Duke of *Argyle*, succeeded him in the Title; was Keeper of the Privy Seal in *Scotland*.

Everything to themselves, first by pushing on a 1716. general Amnesty, and next by getting the *Triennial Bill* into their Hands with respect to *Scotland*.

I dined with my Aunt *Allanson*. After Dinner *April 7.* we went to Sir *Godfrey Kneller's*, to see a Picture of my Lord which he is drawing, and is the best that was ever done for him. It is for my Dressing-room, and in the same Posture that the dear Fellow watched me so many Weeks in my great Illness. From thence I went to the *New Exchange*,⁸ and bought a Teaboard, and came Home to wait upon my Spouse, who came about an Hour after. As he came along, the People were pulling two Boys out of a Ditch, that had been stript and flung there by Footpads.

In the Morning went to *Court*. The Duchess of *Roxburgb* is not so much a Favourite as she was. The *Princess* resents her recommending Mrs. *Ballandine*,⁹ and her great Friendship with Mrs. *Howard*. Brought Mrs. *Clayton* Home to dine with me. She, and Lady *W. Powlett*, and I, went to the Play together, for the Benefit of *Johnson*, who is the best Comedian this Day upon the Stage, and I believe as true and good a Player as ever was in any Age, for the Parts that he plays.

⁸ The *New Exchange*, in the *Strand*, so called in contradistinction to the *Royal Exchange*, was a Kind of *Soho Bazaar*, opened 1609, taken down 1737. See *Cunningham's Handbook of London*.

⁹ Mary *Bellenden*, one of the Maids of Honour to the *Princess of Wales*, was the

Daughter of *John second Lord Bellenden*, and one of the most beautiful Persons of her Time. The *Prince* was very much in love with her, but she rejected his Addresses, and, in 1720, married Colonel *Campbell*, afterwards fourth Duke of *Argyle*.

1716. The Play was *Love in a Tub*,¹ that took so much in the Reign of King *Charles II.*, that it was acted for eighteen Nights together. Nothing gives One a livelier Idea of the Dissoluteness of that Court than their Relish for this Play.

April 14. The Debate about the *Triennial Bill*² begun To-day. The *Princess* went to hear it.

Went a visiting, and at Night at *Court*. The *Princess* in good Health—had been abroad. I carried her some clouted Cream.

Carried my Daughter to *Hyde Park*, then to the Venetian Embassay. News this Morning that *Tom Foster* had got out of *Newgate*. The Keeper taken up. It appeared, when he was examined before the Council, that he was consenting to it.

Bit in the Night—I'm afraid by a Bug: 't is as bad an Enemy as a Scotch *Higlander*. Sir *David Hamilton* here; he has been robbed by Footpads. He ordered me a little Oil of Elder to anoint the Lid of my Eye where it was bit, and I could not open it. Forced to keep at Home To-day. Lady *Cowper*³ in the Evening.

April 16. This Morning I came into Waiting. The Duchess of *St. Albans* and I divide the Week; she waits in the Afternoon, and I in the Morn-

¹ By *Etherege*; but better known as *The Comical Revenge*. As such it is mentioned in *Geneste* as being performed this Night for the Benefit of *Johnson*.

² A Question of Life and Death to the Government. If the *Septennial Act* had not passed, a Jacobite House of Commons would have been elected at this Time. The Bill for the Septennial Elec-

tion of the *House of Commons* was proposed in the *House of Lords*, April 10, 1716, by the Duke of *Devonshire*, and passed by a Majority of 35. In the *House of Commons* it was carried by a very large Majority.

³ Mother of the *Chancellor*, Widow of Sir *W. Cowper*, Bart., M.P. for *Hertford*. Died in 1719.

ing. The *Princess* did not go To-day to hear the Debates. I hear that my Lord *Nottingham* recapitulated all my Lord *Cowper* had said (with so much Applause) the *Saturday* before, and he and his Brother, with the Help of my Lord *Trevor*,⁴ fell upon him in a most furious as well as unparliamentary Manner. The Truth is, they were very angry that he had discovered the Falseness of their Zeal for the Prerogative. However, my Lord managed the Debate so well against all the Three, that I believe they were heartily sorry they had meddled with him. I dined at Baron *Bernstorff's*. Mademoiselle *Schutz* is fitting for her Picture to one *Constantine*, a French Refugee; 't is most horribly done, and so unfortunately like, that Anybody may know it, and yet the ugliest Thing in the World. I have one of the same Stamp. After Dinner went to Madame *Nostitz*,⁵ the Polish *Envoy's* Lady, for the first Time. They have talked so much of Lady *Sunderland's* Death, that I have done Nothing but cry whenever I have been. The *Princess* gone out to take the Air. It is twelve Weeks last *Saturday* since she reckons herself with Child.

Lady *W. Powlett* complains of Mademoiselle *Schutz*, and says she is so importunate and troublesome, and always upon the Spunge. I fell a laughing, and said I was very glad it had come

⁴ Thomas first Lord *Trevor*, Solicitor-General in 1692, Attorney in 1695, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1701, Privy Seal in 1725, and President of the Council in 1730.

⁵ Count *Nostitz*, Envoy Extraordinary from the King of Poland, had an Audience of the King, November 17, 1714, to congratulate him on his Accession.

1716. to Anybody's Share besides mine. Mademoiselle *Schutz* complains that I am always with Mrs. *Clayton*, which she takes very ill. At Lady *W. Powlett's*, where we dined. She had a great Dispute about the English, who she says have no Civility for Foreigners, they not always putting the Foreigners first, by which Argument she must hold it reasonable for her Chambermaid to go into a Room before the Duchess of *Somerset*, because she's a Stranger. The common People are nowhere what One would wish them as to Civility, but I can't help thinking that the People of Fashion have not only been civil to all the Strangers that came in with the *Court*, but have really made a great Rout with them. We have all given Mademoiselle *Schutz* more Respect and Civility than was her Due, and a thousand Times more than any of her own Country do, they all treating her *du haut en bas*, as the French call it. She was so very impertinent in this Dispute that Everybody was peevish with her, and all the Instance she could give of their Want of Civility was a Newspaper calling the *Emperor's* Envoy Mr. *Gallas* instead of Count *Gallas*, nine Years ago. If it was not for her Uncle, Nobody would endure her.

Old *Clavering* challenged by a Witness set on by Mrs. *Errington*.

April 19. Everybody concerned for Lady *Sunderland*. The Duchess of *Marlborough* mightily afflicted, but her Griefs soon wear off. The Duchess lived

as ill in Reality, though not in Appearance, with 1716.
Lady Sunderland as with any of her Children.
They all hated her, and though outwardly *Lady Sunderland* carried it fair, yet it was in such a Manner that the *Duchess* perceived it was for Interest only, and despised her for it.

Restoration. Green Boughs.⁶

May 29.

Thanksgiving. Orange Ribbons. Mob; Bon-fires.

June 7.

Pretender's Birthday. Guards; Roses.

June 10.

Talk of the *Prince's Regency*. Mademoiselle *Schulenberg*⁷ here about her Title. My Lord's Opinion and *Lord Chief Justice's* all wrong.

June 12.

At Court. Lord *Townshend* in Disgrace. Mademoiselle *Schulenberg* at the *House of Lords* to take Oaths;—in what Manner treated. My Lord makes Peace.

June 19.

Baron *Bernstorff* promises his Endeavours, but fears the *King* will not come to Terms with the *Prince*, but will see to put off the Going that Day to the *House*. Goes to the *Princess*, then to the *Prince*, then to me; says he does not find the *Prince* pliant. The *Prince* consents to what Lord *Cowper* does. Lord *Cowper* goes with Baron *Bernstorff* to the *King*. Lord *Sunderland* and Lord *Townshend* would have the *Prince*

June 26.

* On the Anniversary of the *Reformation*, Persons in opposition to the House of Hanover used to wear Oak-apples in their Hats, in allusion to the Escape of Charles II., and on June 10, the *Pretender's Birthday*, Roses in their Button-holes.

⁷ Was the Sister of the Count of *Schulenberg*; was Maid of Honour to the Electress *Sophia*, Mother of *George I.*, and, in 1716, was created Duchess of *Munster*, and in 1719 Duchess of *Kendal*. See Letters in Appendix E.

1716. brought to new Terms. Lord *Cowper* opposes it. Lord *Sunderland* would have that Part relating to the *Prince* struck out of the Speech;—carried against Lord *Sunderland*. Baron *Bernstorff* comes to tell me all goes well. Then go to the *Princess* to tell the Remainder of the News. Her Joy. At Night I go out with my Lord to take the Air, then to Mademoiselle *Schulenberg*, to wish her Joy.

June 27. Baron *Bernstorff* here. Speaks of Peace. Go to the *Princess*. The *Prince* angry. Go to the *Archbishop*.⁷ Mob to meet him at *Canterbury*.

June 28. Three Lords to be turned out. Restrictions. Go to Mrs. *Clayton*. Hear there of a new Broil. They insist on new Terms. Lord *Cowper* dines with Lord *Townshend*. The *King* angry; insists upon humbling the *Prince*, and making him part with *Argyle*, *Islay*, &c. Will come to new Terms, or send over for *D. E.*,⁸ and make him Guardian of the Realm and Duke of *York*. I wish to give Advice. They are all mad, and, for their own private Ends, will destroy all.

Go into little *Princesses'* Apartment. *Princess* there, all in flame. To Lady *Essex Robartes*. Mademoiselle *Schutz* there: thinks Obedience in Children necessary. Try to gain Lord *Townshend*. The *Prince* will support *Argyle*. Try to appease them. The *Prince* in an Agony; shakes me by the Hand; resolved not to depart; sends

⁷ Archbishop *Wake*.

⁸ His Brother, *Ernest Augustus*, after-

wards Duke of *York*, at this Time in

Hanover.

for Lord *Townshend*; promised to give him good Words. Talk of Challenge sent by the Duke of *Argyle* to Lord *Cadogan*.⁹ Prince determined not to part with Duke of *Argyle*. Prince wrote to the King.

The Princess says the Prince resolves to seem to part with *Argyle*. Lord *Townshend* and *Sunderland* with the Prince: cry, make Professions; say they know themselves undone. The King answers the Prince: copy the Letter.¹ Princess thinks the Style M. *Robethon*'s. She may buy *Robethon*, if it's done artfully. At Night at Lady *W. Powlett*'s. Madame *Robethon* there. How it stands between the Prince and *Robethon* as to the Pension promised. Clears him as to this Affair. All Lies. Remember what he said to me and my Lord about the Regency.

Go to the Princess before Ten. Prince not up. July 4 Princess says he is resolved to send for Baron *Bernstorff*, and tell him that he is resolved to sacrifice Everything to please and live well with the King, so will part with the Duke of *Argyle*. Designs to send also for Monsieur *Robethon*, to give him a Pension. Duchess of *St. Albans* huffed the Princess about her not being always with her.

M. *Robethon* says the King will come back July 5.

⁹ William, created Earl of *Cadogan* in 1718, was one of *Marlborough*'s most celebrated Generals, and twice Ambassador to *Holland*. He was Commander-in-Chief in 1722, and one of the Lords Justices during the King's Absence on the

Continent in 1723. He died in 1726, and is buried in *Westminster Abbey*. Some noble Lines in his Honour were written by *Tickell*.

¹ Vide Appendix D.

1716.

again, which he did not intend to have done if these Things had not been arranged. The Foreigners take their Leave of the *Princess*. The Duke of *Devonshire* made President, and the Duke of *Kent* Steward. The *King* will not stay above six Months. Baron *Bernstorff* came to take his Leave. Go to take mine of the foreign Ladies; the *King* to take his Leave of the *Princess*. Go to the Drawing-room. The *King* in mighty good Humour. When I wished him a good Journey and a quick Return, he looked as if the last Part of my Speech was needless, and that he did not think of it. At Night Lord *Lovat*² brings a Man called *Barnes* to the Council, who deposed upon Oath that two *Sulivants*, Cousins to *Sulivant*,³ whose Head is upon *Temple Bar*, told him that *Sulivant's* Brother, who is a Partisan, was to kill the *King* in a Wood between *Utrecht* and *Loo*, and that he was to command a 'Party Blue,' which is a cant Phrase for fifty Men. The Men were seized. This Lord *Lovat* was prosecuted for the Rape of one of the Duke of *Athol's* Sisters, and durst not appear in the World till by his good Services in *Scotland* he had merited his Pardon.

Madame *Buckenburgh* would not let the Doc-

² *Simon Fraser*, Lord *Lovat*, born in 1667, after many Acts of Violence, fled to *France* and gained the Confidence of the old *Pretender*, which he made use of, on his Return to *Scotland*, to ruin his personal Enemies. He was rewarded by the Government of *George I.* with the Title of *Lovat* and a Pension. He engaged in the Rebellion of 1745, and

after having displayed his usual Craft and Audacity, he was executed in 1747, at the Age of eighty. The whole Plan for the Rebellion of 1745 is supposed to have originated with him.

³ *Joseph Sulivant*, alias *Silver*, was executed at *Tyburn* for High Treason, October 28, 1715.

tor's and one of the Councillors' Wives sit down 1716.
in the Dressing-room where we were all fitting,
and the *Princess* in the next Room.

The King went in the Morning, and the Prince July 7.
in the Coach with him. Almost all the great
Officers followed, except the *Chancellor*, who was
obliged to sit in the Cause Room that Morning.
The Duke of *Argyle* and my Lord *Ifay* went to
kiss the King's Hands, and assure him that their
future Behaviour should show that they had been
falsely represented to His Majesty.

In the Morning at Court. The *Princess* bids
my Lord *Cowper* come to the *Prince*, for he has
Confidence in Nobody else. She says M. *Robethon* is entirely gained with a Pension of 300*l.*
a Year (but I doubt that, for M. *Robethon* is a
cunning Fox). *Stanhope*⁴ swears he will write
all that passes (I doubt that also). She says that
the King, in his Visit last Night, said he had seen
above fifty People that Day, and Everybody had
asked him Something but my Lord *Cowper*. She
said to him, 'Sir, you look ill To-day. Are you
well?' He laughed, and said, 'I may well look
ill, for I have had a world of Blood drawn from
me.'

The *Princess* complains that Monsieur de *Torcy*⁵
opens all her Letters.

⁴ James Earl *Stanhope*, celebrated as
a General and Statesman, was named
Secretary of State in 1714, and became
Prime Minister in 1717. Died suddenly
in 1720.

⁵ J. B. Colbert, Marquis de *Torcy*,
Nephew of 'Le Grand *Colbert*', was a
distinguished Diplomatist, and a Member
of the Council of Regency during the
Minority of *Louis XV*.

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1716. July 8. Lady *St. John*⁶ here. She talks of her dead Son, cries, and tells of the Ingratitude of the Duke of *Marlborough* to him. That *George* had been twice at *Antwerp* to wait upon him, to the hazard of his Place. That the *Duke* made such a Rout with him, that he went to the Inn and fetched him to his House in his Chariot, and treated him with all the Expressions of Kindness in the World ; and when he took his Leave, said, ‘*Mr. St. John*, you are going to *England*. I have a Favour to beg of you. Pray give my humble Service to my Lord *Oxford* and my Lord *Bolingbroke*. I always had a Respect for the One and an Affection for the Other.’ ‘My Lord!’ says *Mr. St. John*, ‘Lord *Oxford* and my Brother?’ ‘Yes, *Mr. St. John*,’ says the *Duke*; ‘I never was against them in my Life.’

Lady *St. John* said my Lord *Marlborough*’s Behaviour to her Son had broke his Heart ; and that Half-an-hour before he died he said to his Servant, ‘Tell my Father I die a Whig, and always was one.’

She says that the Duchess of *Munster* had told her that she was against turning out *Argyle* at this Juncture, and that she believed it was the Ministers had put the *King* upon it. In the Afternoon at *Court*. My Lord *Radnor* replaced at the Council. I met the *Arcbbishop*, who told

* *Angelica*, Daughter of *George Pilfary*, Superintendent of the Galleys of *France*, and Wife of *Sir Henry*, created, in 1716, Viscount *St. John*, Father of

the famous Lord *Bolingbroke*. Her Son *George* was Secretary to the English Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, and died at *Venice* in January 1716.

me that my Lord *Cowper* and he had agreed to stand and fall by one another. My Lord *Cowper* with the *Prince* almost two Hours. He promises to hear him in Everything. My Lord persuades him to live well with all those he thought had not done their Duty, because it was for the Good of the Whole. He promises him to do so. He tells my Lord *Cowper* he should not have known what to have done without me, who had been very necessary to him and had done purely.

1716.

The Death-warrant came down for twenty-four, all to be reprieved but Justice *Hall*⁷ and Parson *Paul*. The Duchess of *Sbrewsbury* in Waiting. She pleads hard for a Pardon for all the twenty-four. Go to Mrs. *Clayton's*. The Duke of *Marlborough* very ill; he goes this Week to the Lodge, and so to the Bath.⁸ Mrs. *Clayton* said he knew Nothing of what was doing in public Affairs; but they did Everything without acquainting him. I could have asked her what was then the Meaning of my Lord *Cadogan's* going down twice in one Day to *St. Albans*, as he did that Day the Restrictions were accepted; but I won't enter into any of their Broils if I can help it. Everybody believes that the Duchefs of *Munster* had 5,000*l.* for making Lord *St. John* a Lord.

With the *Princess* soon after Ten. She thinks July 10.

⁷ July 13, 1716. *John Hall*, Esq., formerly a Justice of the Peace in the County of *Northumberland*, and Mr. *William Paul*, a Clergyman of the Church of *England*, were drawn upon a Sledge from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, and there executed according to their Sentence, as in Cafes of High Treason.

⁸ See Letter of Duchefs of *Marlborough* in Appendix F.

1716. Lord *Townshend* is the sneeringest, fawningest Knave that ever was,⁹ and adds this Reflection, that Knavery is of very little Use when it puts One so out of Countenance. She said Lord *Sunderland* owned to her he had been against the *Prince*, yet he was more natural than Lord *Townshend*, who ever strove to put on a Mask, which is no better than an Ass's Face, and that of the Two she liked Lord *Sunderland* the best. He owned to her he had been for the Restrictions, and said 'I shall be the same whenever I see the like Occasion.' He owned he was for displacing the Duke of *Argyle*, but not in the Manner they did, and said, 'I wish Anyone durst tell me to my Face that it is otherwife.' I told the *Princess* I thought M. *Robetbon* had given the most natural Account of the turning out the Duke of *Argyle*. He said that Lord *Townshend* and the other Secretary of State had hoped to have governed the *Prince* through the Duke of *Argyle*, which made them talk of throwing up if he was turned out; but when they saw the *King* resolved, and that they were in real Danger of losing their own Places, then they fell in with the Cry against the *Duke*, and were the most violent in hunting him out.

* This is not the Character generally given of him. Lord *Hervey* says: 'He was rash in his Undertakings, violent in his Proceedings, haughty in his Carriage, brutal in his Expressions, and cruel in his Disposition, impatient of the least Contradiction, and as slow to pardon as he was quick to resent.' Lord *Chesterfield* says: 'Lord *Townshend*, by very long

Experience and unwearied Application, was certainly an able Man of Busines, which was his only Passion. His Manners were coarse, rustic, and seemingly brutal; but his Nature was by no means so, for he was a kind Husband, a most indulgent Father to all his Children, and a benevolent Master to his Servants.'

I told the *Princess* it was prudent not to trust Mr. *Molineux*,¹ for Madame *Robetbon* told me he had been with her and Monsieur *Robetbon*, and had cried and begged to be forgiven, and had excused himself upon doing Nothing but obey his Master.

1716.

The *Princess* told me that the *King* had told her he had heard that the *Prince* had as ill an Opinion of my Lord *Cowper* as of the Rest; but he added, ‘He may trust him, for he’s a very honest, disinterested Man. He and the Duke of *Devonshire* are the only two Men I have found so in this Kingdom.’ The *Princess* is prevailed upon to live civilly with the Ministry, but, I am apt to believe, will hardly forgive what is past.

In the Morning at Court. The *Princess* gives me a Book to read to her; ’t was Madame *Desboulière’s*² Works. We came upon a Passage relating to *Brutus*, which, as much a Whig as I am, I cannot come up to; for I think *Brutus* should either have been faithful to *Cæsar*, or he should have refused his Favours; the Baseness of his Ingratitude blackening, in my Opinion, all that could be said for his Zeal for his Country. This occasioned a great Dispute among us.

I am trying to get Something for Lady *WilloUGHBy*.³

¹ Probably the Agent sent by the Duke of *Marlborough* to *Hanover*, in 1714, to watch the Proceedings of Mr. *Harley*, who had been sent there by his Brother, Lord *Oxford*.

² Called by her Contemporaries the *Tenth Muse*, the *French Calliope*, &c.,

a Poetess of the Time of *Louis XIV.*; was the Friend of *Cornelie*, *Fléchier*, and *Pelisson*. Her Tragedies are very inferior to her Pastorals.

³ *Hester*, Daughter of *Henry Davenport*, of *Darcy Leven*, in *Lancashire*.

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1716.

July 16.

With the *Prince's* by Eleven. The Duke and Duchess of *Roxburgh* have been with her to make Professions that they were against putting the Duke of *Argyle* out, but would have advised her not to see him again. She answered coldly, ‘Why so? The *King* has given him Leave to come to *Court*, and I should think the *Prince* did an ungrateful Thing not to countenance him, when he has suffered so much on his Account.’

Lord *Sunderland* did assure her that though he was for putting out the Duke of *Argyle*, yet he was against the Manner of doing it. This was a Lie; for after the *King* had agreed to Everything, and the Speech was made, and that Article inserted which related to the Guardianship, Lord *Sunderland* said, with a great deal of Warmth and Passion, ‘But I'll go and take t' other Pull at it.’ Upon which the Duke of *Argyle* was put out, though it was not so much as talked of before. For my Share, I thought it of so absolute a Necessity to the public Good to keep all Things quiet, that I did heartily and successfully endeavour to conceal this and Everything that could possibly tend to Disunion, little thinking at that Time it could ever be called a Crime to endeavour to keep Things quiet. It was very plain that the Foreign Ministry had no Mind that the *Prince* should have the Guardianship. Monsieur *Robethon* owned to me that he wished the Restrictions⁷ might be so made that the *Prince*

⁷ The *Prince*, in spite of his very limited Power, gained much Popularity.

might not accept, and when I said, if it was so, I was afraid that Nobody would dare to act in the *King's Absence*, he said I did not know the *Prince*—that he only wanted Power to displace Everybody the *King* liked, and dissolve the *Parliament*. This was a strange Rant, and I thought only proceeded from a Disappointment in a Pension of three hundred Pounds a Year the *Prince* had promised Monsieur *Robetbon*, which was a Secret I was then let into with a great deal of Resentment, it never having been paid. The next Morning, being with the *Princess*, I told her I had heard of a Promise not having been fulfilled; that I believed it made great Un-easiness; but I did not say one Word of what I had heard concerning the *Prince* nor the Restrictions. Within two Days the *Prince* sent for M. *Robetbon*, gave him an Order for three hundred Pounds, and promised the Continuation of this whilst he was his Friend.

The *King* was no sooner gone, than the *Prince*⁸ took a Turn of being civil and kind to Everybody, and applied himself to be well with the *King's Ministers*, and to understand the State of the Nation. The Duke of *Roxburgh* expected to govern either by his Wife or Cousin; but the First had been a good While out of Favour, and his Cousin was so far from helping him, that she

⁸ On the first Absence of the *King* from *England*, the Prince of *Wales* was appointed Regent, but was never entrusted with that high Office a second

Time. It is probable that he displayed too much Fondness for acting the *King*. The Father and Son hated each other ever after.

1716. showed the *Prince* a Letter he wrote her to influence the *Prince* in the Affair of the Duke of *Argyle*, and which shocked the *Prince* to that Degree, that he never showed the Duke of *Roxburgh* any Favour from that Time. The good *Archbishop* and *Chancellor* stood upon their own Integrity, and Desire of having Things go as well as they could during the *King's* Absence, which could not be unless all Disputes were made up. *Stanhope* was gone with the *King*, who took no English but him and *Boscarwen*,⁹ and the Dean of *Exeter*¹ for a Chaplain.

A new Scheme was let out by the Duke of *Marlborough's* Friends for the State of the Nation in the next Sessions of *Parliament*. By that it was resolved, first, that my Lord *Townshend* should be turned out (the Duchess of *Munster* had given me a Hint that that was resolved upon before she left *London*), and Mr. *Methuen* continued in his Place (which also proved true), Mr. *Methuen* having had the Seals given him during the Absence of Mr. *Stanhope*; that *Walpole* was to be laid aside, and my Lord *Carnarvon*² put in his Room (he says they offered it to him, and he refused it, because he was sure they would not change Hands if they did not want some dirty

⁹ *Hugh Boscarwen*, created Viscount *Falmouth* in 1720, was at this Time Comptroller of *H. M.'s Household*.

¹ *Lancelot Blackburn*, Dean of *Exeter*, is said to have been a Pirate in his Youth. Was made Bishop of *Exeter* in 1716, and Archbishop of *York* in 1724. Was a great Friend of Sir *Robert Walpole*. *Horace Walpole* calls him ‘the jolly old

Archbishop, who had the Manners of a Man of Quality, though he had been a Buccaneer and was a Clergyman.’

² *James Brydges*, ninth Baron *Chandos*, was, on the Accession of *George I.*, made Earl of *Carnarvon*, and, in 1719, Duke of *Chandos*. He had been Paymaster-General of the Forces.

Work done, and he added, ‘I’m too rich to do any such Thing for them’); that the *Chancellor* was to be displaced because he was not tractable (that is, would not give in to their Villanies), and some said Mr. *Vernon* was to be in his Room; but after Consideration, they pitched upon Mr. *Lechmere* as the only proper Person to govern *Westminster Hall*. He had Warmth enough for *Sunderland*, and they hoped he might be so managed that they might perfectly govern him. They knew he was capable of being mightily frightened, for when the *Aylebury* Election³ was before the *House of Commons*, he was Counsel in behalf of *Ashby* and *White*, and that being a Tory *House of Commons*, had ordered Mr. *Lechmere* to be taken into Custody. When the Messenger went to perform his Office to his Chambers, up two Pair of Stairs in the *Temple*, he was so terrified that he tied the Sheets of his Bed, and by that Means slipped out of his Window into the Court, and so escaped. He was the most mortal Enemy the *Chancellor* had, who had got him turned out for an Encomium made (at the Trial of one of the Rebels) upon the good

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³ This was the great constitutional Case of *Ashby v. White* and the *Aylebury* Men, which originated in an Action by *Matthew Ashby* against *William White*, Mayor of *Aylebury*, and others, for refusing to receive his Vote at an Election for that Borough. The *House of Commons* resolved that a Question as to the Qualification of an Elector was only cognizable by themselves, and the *House of Lords* supported, against them, the Rights of the Subject, upon which the Com-

mons, by an Abuse of parliamentary Privilege, in the Opinion of the best Authorities, were endeavouring to encroach. In the course of the Conflict, which only closed with the Dissolution of Parliament, the Commons went so far as to commit to Prison the Counsel and Solicitors concerned for the Burgeses of *Aylebury*, and it is to this Stage of the Proceedings that the Incident mentioned in the *Diary* refers.

1716. Behaviour of the University of *Oxford* during the Rebellion (and that only to contradict Sir *Joseph Jekyll*,⁵ who had spoke before him, and had found fault with them for their ill Conduct). But to return to the new Scheme. The Duke of *Marlborough* had had so great a Stroke of the Palsey, that it was feared he would never come to the Use of his Reason again, that being in a Manner gone, as well as his Speech; so *Cadogan* was the Man pitched upon to fill his Place. He had been made a Lord for his Success in *Scotland*, and this Matter was to be managed with some Dexterity; for though he was a very brave Man, there were a great many that were by Right between him and the Command of the Army. The Duke of *Argyle* was the most formidable of his Competitors, and I'm apt to believe it was the true Secret of his Removal, though other Pretences were made use of with the *King* to persuade him to agree to it.

There were a great many Removes more; as the Duke of *Kingston*⁶ to be Privy Seal, the Duke of *Roxburgb* Secretary for *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Montrose*⁷ to be in his former Place, and many more, which have escaped my Memory. The Scheme I have mentioned was given out with

⁵ Master of the Rolls:—

'A Joke on *Jekyll* or some odd old Whig,
Who never changed his Politicks or Wig.'

Pope's *Epilogue to the Satires.*

⁶ Evelyn Pierrepont, first Duke of *Kingston*, was named four Times a Lord-Justice during the *King's* Visits to *Hanover*;

was the Father of Lady *Mary Wortley Montague*.

⁷ James first Duke of *Montrose*, a zealous Hanoverian, appointed one of the Lords of Regency by the *Elector*. He proclaimed *George I.* at *Edinburgh*.

such Assurance that it put the whole Town in a Ferment, especially when it was known that my Lord *Sunderland* was to go to *Hanover*, which he did soon after the *Prince* went to *Hampton Court*, where he resided with great Splendour the whole Summer. My Lord *Townshend* and his Family were there constantly, *Methuen* twice a Week, the *Chancellor* once a Week. Count *Bothmar* was there the whole Time; he was left by the King to keep all Things in order, and to give an Account of Everything that was doing. The *Prince* behaved so well, especially in regard to the King's Person and Authority, that if Things were truly represented, it could not fail to be for his Advantage.

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My Lord *Sunderland*'s going to *Hanover* gave fresh Life to the Schemers. They pretended they were sure to carry their Point, and People in general were very apprehensive that this Division of the Whigs must infallibly let in the Tories, and that the Dissolution of this Parliament must follow. What made People still more uneasy was, that almost all those who were named to succeed the Ministers who were to be displaced were Men altogether incapable of carrying on the public Busineſs, and who, of necessity, must embarrass Affairs to a Degree to make it of absolute Necessity to go to the Tories, since it would be altogether unfit to take those in again who had been so heartily disengaged; and the Duke of *Marlborough*'s good Intentions towards his old Friends,

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the Tories, made People conclude he had further Views than he let his Whig Friends into, and that he put them upon choosing People he knew could not go on with public Busines, on purpose to play Everything into the Hands of the Tories. This Suspicion was not a little confirmed by the Meetings and Conferences held among the Tories at my Lord Carnarvon's House, where it was confidently reported the Duke of *Marlboroug'b* had been present several Times.

But Nothing was so great a Check to the Schemers as the Duke of *Marlboroug'b*'s Illnes, who was now so ill again of the Palsey that his Life was in great Danger. However, he recovered, though his Understanding and Speech were much impaired, for which he went to the Bath,⁸ where he passed the whole Summer. The Schemers flocked thither; for though the *Duke* could not advise, he could lend his Name and Purse, both which the *Duchess* governed (a Pleasure to her, who loved Power even more than the *Duke*). Lord *Sunderland* came for his Instru&ctions twice or thrice before he went away, and Nothing was talked of at the Bath⁹ but the great Things that were to be done when the *King* came over.

⁸ Where, as Dr. *King* says, ‘when he was in the last Stage of Life, and very infirm, he would walk from the public Rooms in *Bath* to his Lodgings, in a cold dark Night, to save Sixpence in Coach-hire.’

⁹ Verses on the Ministry about this Time:—

‘Bothmar is Father *Petre* in Disguise,
And *Sunderland* his Father's Place
supplies:

Irish and Scotch both Counsellors are grown,
And faithful *Churchill* guards the sacred Throne.
Remember, *George*, when this Set led the Dance,
They sent a greater *King* than you to *France*.

The *Court* meanwhile was lulled asleep by the Report of the Duke of *Marlborough's* Illness. People did not so much as remember the Taste the *Duchess* had for Government, and that having the *Duke's* Purse at command, she could do that which the *Duke's* Love of Money would never permit him to do; and 't is no Wonder *Sunderland* was so devoted to her, since he was so well paid for it; for since this Illness she got the *Duke* to alter his Will, and take Everything from my Lady *Godolphin* he could hinder her of, and leave the Bulk of his Estate to *Sunderland* and his Children.

But to return to *Hampton Court*. Lord *Townshend* being always there, found Means to insinuate himself mightily into the Favour of the *Prince*, but left the *Princess* quite out, even to the showing her all the Contempt in the World. He made his Court to Mrs. *Howard* and Mrs. *Balandine*, so that, when I came to *Hampton Court*, I was never so surprised in my Life as to see that so little Respect was shown to the *Princess*. She had too much Quicknes^s not to feel this as much as was possible. I saw it with the utmost Uneasiness, and got Mr. *Woodford* to represent to Lord *Townshend* how wrong this Usage of the *Princess* was, and how much it was for their Interest and Advantage to get her on their Side. Soon after my Lord *Cowper* made him the same Representation so strongly, that from that Time he quite altered his Conduct to the *Princess*, to the great Pleasure of those who had been concerned in the

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1716. Thing. This brought the *Princess* into perfect Tranquillity.

Lord *Townshend* was no sooner set right in this Particular, than he began his Tricks against my Lord *Cowper*. It was very plain he had insinuated many Things to the *Prince*, though without Effect. He violently pushed on the Interest of *Parker*, whom he had stole from my Lord *Cowper*, who had made him Chief Justice. Lord *Townshend* had not treated the *Archbishop* better than my Lord *Cowper*; but, by the good Offices of the *Prince* and *Princess*, Matters were made up, and Everything was kept quiet and right at *Hampton Court*.

About the Middle of *August*, Lord *Sunderland* began his Journey. He had been at *Hampton Court* to take Leave; and in the Gallery the *Princess* and he had so loud a Conversation, that the *Princess* desired him to speak lower, for the People in the Garden would hear, to which he answered, ‘Let them hear!’ The *Princess* added, ‘Well, if you have a Mind, let ’em; but you shall walk next the Windows, for in the Humour we both are, one of us must certainly jump out at the Window, and I’m resolved it shan’t be me.’ One may easily guess by this Sample what the Rest of the Conversation was.

Lord *Sunderland* took Leave of Lord *Townshend* with a thousand Protestations that he would do Nothing to hurt any of them, and that his main Intention in going was to persuade the *King* to

come soон back. How this Promise was fulfilled
will be known in the Sequel. ✓ 1716.

The *Prince* and *Princess* dined in public every Day in the *Princess's* Apartment. The Lady in Waiting served at Table. My ill Health prevented my doing that Service at all, except one Day that the *Princess* went to *Windfor*. In the Afternoon the *Princess* saw Company, or read or writ till the Evening, and then walked in the Garden, sometimes two or three Hours together, and then went into the Pavilion, at the End of the Bowling Green, and played there. This she did very frequently, till, one rainy and dark Night, the Countess of *Buckenburgh*¹ fell, and put her Foot out of Joint; and I think, after that Accident, the *Princess* went there no more, but used to play in the Green Gallery from Nine to about half-an-hour past Ten. The Duchess of *Monmouth* used to be often there: the *Princess* loved her mightily, and certainly no Woman of her Years ever deserved it so well. She had all the Life and Fire of Youth, and it was marvellous to see that the many Afflictions² she had suffered had not touched her Wit and good Nature, but at upwards of Threescore she had both in their full Perfection.

Sometimes the *Princess* used to ask Company to sup with her in the Countess of *Buckenburgh*'s

¹ Madame de *Buckenburgh* was very fat; her Corpulence is frequently alluded to in the Squibs of the Day.

In Pride of Power, in Beauty's Bloom,
Had wept o'er *Monmouth*'s bloody Tomb.'

² 'For she had known Adversty,
Though born in such a high Degree;

Lay of the Last Minstrel.

1716. Chamber, and I can't but set down that once at Table there was the *Princess*, the Countess of *Buckenburgh*, myself, Lady *Townshend*, the Duchess of *Shrewsbury*, and the Duchess of *St. Albans*, and that all their Fortunes together did not make eleven thousand Pounds.

The 28th *October* the *Court* left *Hampton Court*. The Ladies came with the *Prince* and *Princess* by Water in a Barge. The Day was wonderfully fine, and Nothing in the World could be pleasanter than the Passage, nor give One a better Idea of the Riches and Happiness of this Kingdom. The *Sunday* fe'nnight following, being the 4th of *November*, the *Princess* fell into Labour, upon which the Council was called. There was a German Midwife (whose Countenance prognosticated ill, she being the very Picture of the French Resident), and Sir *David Hamilton* waited as Physician. The English Ladies all press'd to have the *Princess* laid by Sir *David Hamilton*, but she would not hear of it. The Council, as well as the Family, sat up all Night, but there were no Signs of Delivery. On *Tuesday* the *Princess* had a shivering Fit, which held her a good While, and violently. Everybody but the *Princess* and the Germans were now in a great Fright, which caused the Council to send down for the Countess of *Buckenburgh*, to desire her to let the *Prince* know that they were there to beseech him to have the *Princess* laid by Sir *D. Hamilton*; which he was angry at, and when I came on *Wednesday*

Morning I was in Amaze to see the Hurly-burly there was about this Affair. The Midwife had refused to touch the *Princess* unless she and the *Prince* would stand by her against the English ‘Frows,’ who, she said, were high Dames, and had threatened to hang her if the *Princess* miscarried. This put the *Prince* into such a Passion, that he swore he would fling out of Window whoever had said so, or pretended to meddle. The Duchesses of *St. Albans* and *Bolton* happened to come into the Room, and were saluted with these Expressions. Everybody’s Tone was now changed, and Nothing was talked of but the *Princess*’s good Labour and Safety. Nay, Lord *Townshend*, to show his Readiness to comply, met the Midwife in the outward Room, and ran and shook and squeezed her by the Hand, and made kind Faces at her: for she understood no Language but German. This I think the Tip-top of all Policy and making One’s Court.

The poor *Princess* continued in a languishing Condition till *Friday* Night, when she was delivered of a dead Prince.





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April 9. **T**HE *Princess* says that *Walpole* came to her with Offers of Reconciliation, and she bid him go to Lord *Cowper* and acquaint him. He did, and Lord *Cowper* was not come to Town ; and the Servants said, as reported, that he would not come till *Monday* (though he came that Night) ; but *Walpole* was glad to put off the Message as long as he could.

April 10. *Walpole* came to Lord *Cowper* in the *House of Lords*, and told him he had Overtures of the *King* from *Craggs*, that no Terms were to be insisted on on either Side, but the *Princess* was to have her Children again, and that the *Prince* was to write to the *King*, and that he should return to live again at *St. James's* ; that Lord *Sunderland* had promised to come into all Measures of the *Court*, and in particular that of raising 600,000*l.* to pay the Debts of the Civil List, and that this was the only Opportunity for the *Prince* to make an advantageous Bargain for himself, for the Tories had promised to come up to any personal Thing against

him. About three o'Clock I had a Letter from the *Princess* to desire Lord *Cowper* to come to her immediately, which he did. The *Prince* and *Princess* in great Anguish of Mind. Lord *Cowper* advises the *Princess* to insist upon the restoring her Children. The *Princess* persuaded by *Walpole* to trust him in Everything, and, instead of taking Lord *Cowper's* Advice to insist, desires *Walpole* to get them if he can, and that in a very faint Manner. The *Prince* won't go to live at *St. James's*. Lord *Cowper* persuades him, and says it will not appear to the World to be real without it. A Letter agreed upon to be writ to the *King*.

I go to the *Princess* alone, and beg of her to insist upon her Children for her own Credit, and not let them be in the Hands they are; for if the *Princess* gives up, she will never have a faithful Friend again, nor be thought a good Mother, but her Enemies will always say that she had hitherto only acted the Part she thought most hurtful to the *King*. The *Princess*, in great Anguish, says the *Prince* will not be prevailed upon to return to *St. James's*. Says that the *King* looks upon this as a Triumph to the *Prince* and *Princess*, since they bring back with them all the People the *King* hates; that all the Friends of the *Prince* are to be replaced; that the *Speaker*³ said the Servants of the *Prince* could not decently vote

³ The Honourable Spencer Compton (M. P. for *Suffex*) was Speaker of the *House of Commons* from 1714 to 1727.

He was created Baron *Wilmington* 1728, Viscount *Pevensy* and Earl of *Wilmington* 1730, and died unmarried 1743.

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against the Civil List ; that the *Prince* is to be at the Head of the Regency (a Thing unheard of for a Prince of *Wales*) if the Reconciliation goes on ; that *Bernstorff* knows Nothing of all this Affair. The *Princess* desires me to take my Week, ‘for,’ says she, ‘I would have you with me when I first go to *St. James’s*.’ Lord *Cowper* goes to the *Archbishop*, and tells him in secret of the Affair in hand. Lord *Townshend* tells Lord *Cowper* in the *House of Lords* that he had insisted to the Bishop of *Norwich*⁴ upon Lady *Portland*⁵ Dismission, but it could not be granted (as if it was likely that the Ministry would insist upon this after what has passed), but that *Walpole* and *Townshend* have undertaken that the *Prince* and *Princess* shall be content with Everything they agree to.

April 13.

With the *Princess*. She weeps, and tells me she was betrayed ; that they had bribed the *Prince* with consenting he should stay where he was ; that the Ministry had gained the *Speaker*, who was to have come into the Council with Lord *Cadogan*, *Haversham*,⁶ and *Trevor*, if this Reconciliation had not taken place ; that the Bishop of *Norwich* had fallen down upon his Knees to *Townshend* and *Walpole*, and swore that the *Princess*

⁴ Charles Trimnell was Bishop of *Norwich* 1707 to 1721, when he was translated to *Winchester*. He died 1723.

⁵ Jane, Sister of the first Viscount *Palmerston* and Widow of the Earl of *Portland*, was appointed, in April 1718, Governess to the three Princesses.

⁶ Maurice Thompson, second and last

Lord *Haversham*, served in the French War, was dangerously wounded at the Siege of *Namur*, and was a Member of the *House of Commons*, before his Accession to the Title, on the Death of his Father, in 1709. He himself died in 1745, when the Barony of *Haversham* became extinct.

should have her Children ; that they (*Sunderland* and *P.*) should, in two or three Days after the Reconciliation, come and receive her Orders from the *Princess*; that many would be turned out. *Aislaby*⁷ and *Boscawen*⁸ both to be made Lords. *Newcastle*⁹ and *A.* would be dropped ; that Lady *Portland* would be put out ; that the *Prince* and *Princess* might come as often as they pleased to Court ; that *Walpole* had promised the *Princess* to keep *Clayton* in ; that *Wallop*¹ would be out ; that *Sunderland* said he had never found the *King* cool to him till he mentioned a Reconciliation ; that the Bishop of *Norwich* offered to swear upon his Knees to the *Prince* and *Princess* that all Terms should be made good and satisfactory to them ; that all the *Princess's* Friends were to be restored. The *Princess* cried and said, ‘I see how all these Things go ; I must be the Sufferer at last, and have no Power to help myself. I can say, since the Hour I was born, I have not lived a Day without Suffering ;’ and added, that the *Prince* had ordered the Letter to be brought to Lord *Cowper*, who understood the Laws, for he would write Nothing that should tie his Hands ; that the *King* would not hear of parting with Lady *Portland*,

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⁷ John *Aislabie*, a Lord of the Admiralty, 1710 to April 1714; Treasurer of the Navy from 1714 to 1718; Chancellor of the Exchequer from March 1718 to 1721; was expelled the House of Commons and sent to the Tower for the Share which he took in the Working of the South Sea Scheme.

⁸ Hugh first Lord *Boscawen*, Com-

troller of the Household, 1714; created Peer as Lord *Boscawen* and Viscount *Falmouth* in 1720.

⁹ Yet *Newcastle* continued to be Lord Chamberlain till 1724, and *A.* (*Argyle*) Lord Steward of the Household till 1725.

¹ John *Wallop*, a Lord of the Treasury from 1710 till 1720. He was afterwards Viscount *Lymington* and Earl of *Portsmouth*.

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but *Walpole* promised upon his Faith and Honour it should be done in a few Days, and argued she ought to trust her Friends, who must play this Part to serve them, without which they could do Nothing, for that the *King* was inexorable if ruffled, and that there was no Way but to seem thus to submit, and let them work underhand for them, and that he (*Walpole*) would give them his Head if Everything was not to their Minds in a very short Time. The *Princess* said to him : ‘ Mr. *Walpole*, this will be no jesting Matter to me ; you will hear of me and my Complaints every Day and Hour, and in every Place, if I have not my Children again.’ Archbishop of *Canterbury* at Night with the *Princess*. She says Nothing of this Thing to him.

Lord *Cowper* stayed but little with the *Prince*, who sends *Walpole* Home with him. *Walpole* tells Lord *Cowper* that he would not wait upon Duchess of *Kendal* till Things were far advanced ; that now he intended it, and that her Interest did Everything ; that she was, in effect as much Queen of *England* as ever any was ; that he did Everything by her.

He said abundance of Things to persuade Lord C. that all this was right, but Lord C. told him that notwithstanding he said he took care not to be duped, for all the World would laugh at them, they certainly would be laughed at, for they would certainly be duped ; that the very Thing they engaged in was betraying the Li-

berties of the People, for what Use was having a Civil List if they could run in Debt and have it paid as oft as they would ? *Walpole* stammered, and said, ‘Truly, it is not quite right.’ ‘No,’ says Lord C., ‘for ’t is quite wrong ; but you of the *House of Commons* are to look to that, not the *House of Lords*, who have no Blame to share with you upon that Score.’

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It also appeared to Lord C., from *Walpole’s* Discourse, that this Thing was agreed upon before the Duke of *Devonshire* went out of Town ; that Lord C. had not been made privy to it, and the *Princess* had refused to hear Anything before Lord C. was acquainted with it. The *Prince* said to Lord C., ‘If I and my Friends are not well received at *St. James’s*, I won’t go not above once in a Month, and let them stay by themselves.’ (Is not that the Thing most wished at *St. James’s*?) That *Argyle* knows Nothing of his being to be out. That the *Prince* and *Princess* have been half frightened, half persuaded to this, by making them believe the following Things : that the Ministers were sure of the Tories ; that *Atterbury* said he would come up to Anything personal against the *Prince* ; that the *Speaker* was with the Tories, and was to come in with them into the *Court Measures* ; that he betrayed the *Prince* and *Princess*, and made all their Servants betray them ; that it was better to have the Ministers make up with their Friends than their Enemies ; that all would be well if they played

1720. this Part; that *Prince* and *Princess* might come to *Court* as oft as they will.

Walpole told Lord C. that he got the better of *Bernstorff* by proving to the *King* that *Bernstorff* had bought up vast Sums owing to the foreign Troops at fifty per Cent., which the Public had paid, and that Principals had hardly got any of, the remaining fifty had been so disposed of. ‘Yet,’ says my Lord, ‘I can prove he has done much more of that kind than ever *Bernstorff* did.’ *Walpole* said the *Princess* was to send a Message of Excuse to Duchefs of *Kendal*, as the *Prince* did to the *King*. *Walpole* said, two or three Times, ‘I said so and so to the *Princess*, but durst not tell the *Prince* so yet.’

Walpole has engrossed and monopolised the *Princess* to a Degree of making her deaf to Everything that did not come from him. He stirred up the *Prince’s* Zeal against *South Sea Stock*, which he was well enough pleased with till *Walpole* had a Mind to signalise himself upon that Head, and then the *Prince* and all Friends cried out against it.

Walpole and *Townshend* would never come into any vigorous Measures against *Sunderland*, though many fair Opportunities were offered.

Walpole let the *Prince* intrigue with his Wife,² which both he and the *Princess* knew.

Walpole was every Day this Winter once, if not twice, at *Leicester House*. *Townshend* pre-

² *Catherine*, Daughter of *John Shorter*, Esq.

tended to be angry and fullen, no doubt a Pre-
tence to make up with *Norwich*. Lord *Cowper*
not told of this Cabal which the Rest were
for. There were several Meetings at Duke of
Devonshire's about it, a Week before he went
out of Town. The *Prince* and *Princess* get No-
thing in reality by this Agreement, but Leave
to come sometimes to *Court*; and for that they
give up their Children, suffer their Friends to
betray and quit them, and take Service where,
in a little Time, they will hear it is a Fault to be
civil to those they have betrayed: and no doubt
the *King* likes that the *Prince* and *Princess* should
not come back, and only seems to be reconciled
to get this Debt paid, for here's Nothing to sa-
tisfy the People that this is new. No Return to
live together, no Children restored, no Guards,
Nothing that is great or princely; and all this to
procure *Walpole* and *Townshend* the Benefit of
selling themselves and their Services at a very
dear Rate to the *King*, whose Affairs have suf-
fered more from those two than from any since
he came here.—Their Insolence having disengaged
Everybody at first, and at last been the Cause
of all the Broil at the *King's* first coming back,
and which was the Cause of all the ill Blood
between the *King* and *Prince*, and which ended
at last in an open Rupture, and which, though
it seemed by Appearance to be upon another
Account, was nevertheless owing to that secret
Spring. The *King* directly stipulated that those

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1720. two Persons should be removed from his Acquaintance ; and that not without Reason, for I fear, as now it is too plain, they only made the *Prince* their Cat's-foot to compass their own Ends, since he is thus betrayed into this most infamous Way of making Peace, without any real Benefit for himself and the Kingdom.

Query. Whether *Walpole* and *Townshend* have not thrown cold Water upon the Attempt of the *Prince's* best Friends for his Service, with a View to this Bargain ? If they have not all along made a Merit to the *Court* of keeping the *Prince* bound Hand and Foot as they pleased, and letting his Friends signify Nothing, and if they have not all along acted like Men that had a Design to get into Place again, the first advantageous Opportunity to themselves of doing it ?

The *Princess* has been made to suspect me all this Winter since the Message for corresponding and wishing well to the *King* and *Bernstorff*, and that to a Degree to show it very much, and the *Prince* has hardly looked at me, nor any of my Friends, for the same good Reason without doubt. The *Prince* has been so rough with little Lord *Stanhope*³ about voting in the *South Sea* Affair, that he has talked of resigning for a good While.

April 15. Lord *Cowper* had a Letter from the *Archbishop*. He says he had been with the *Princess*, who had said Nothing of the Affair to him, nor he to her.

³ The celebrated Earl of *Chesterfield*, and a Lord of the Bedchamber to the then Lord *Stanhope*, M.P. for *Lofwithiel*, Prince of *Wales*.

Amazing! How has *Walpole* got so far Power over them that they don't see and know their best Friends but through the Perspective he holds to their Eyes? About One, *Walpole* brought Lord C. the Copy of a Letter to the *King* from the *Prince*. He told him that he was to carry the Message from the *King* to the *Prince* that Night, who was to meet him and *Townshend* at ____.

1720.

Sunderland says the *King* is so out of Humour with him about this Thing, that if the *Pretender* were in *England* he could cut them all down. The *King* said to him, 'Did you not always promise to bring me the *Prince* bound Hand and Foot, and don't you bring him back without my having Power to put any one Servant in or out about his Person?—and what's become of all the Money you promised me?' *Sunderland* says he is quite grown cold with them since they mentioned it to him, but the *Princess* says she heard the Duchess of *Kendal* say, some Time ago, they ruled so tyrannically that the *King* was weary of them; which agrees with a Story told by very good Hands of *Mohamed*⁴ the Turk. The *King* won't hear yet of turning out Lady *Portland*, but *Walpole* and *Townshend* swear to the *Princess* it shall be done, and their Arguments are most from the Necessity of the Thing; that the *King* has run out 600,000^{l.}, and when once these Debts

⁴ *Mahomet* and *Mustapha* were taken Prisoners when *George I.* was serving with the Imperial Army, and were admitted into his Service. When he arrived

in *England*, they were named Pages of the Backstairs, and were supposed to have much Influence with their Master.

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1720. are paid they must fall into all Methods of good Husbandry, one of which will be to retrench 20,000*l.* a Year, and that they will force Lady *Portland* to quit, by telling her she shall have neither Pension nor Money paid her if she don't.

The *Princess* says they will send them the Guards again, and they promise in a little Time to send the Children again; but 't is only a Promise. The Duchess of *Kendal* said she heard the King say that Lord *Cowper* was the only Man in *England* who had treated him with good Manners whilst in his Service. *Princess* said Nothing of her Submission to Duchess of *Kendal*.

Duke of *Kingston* designed to be out. A. most zealous and eager for Reconciliation, though he was trusted with it only at second Hand. He swore he would go to *Devonshire House*, and do it with the Duke of *Devonshire* in a Minute. Before this he had agreed to retire, and have his Retirement made easy and honourable, though I can't hear upon what Terms.

Bishop of *Norwich* is sick, but yet takes bodily Pains in hopes to be Bishop of *Durham*, who, though much older, is yet in a better State of Health than himself.

I don't hear that any Terms are made, or that we are to have any Assurances of not being as ill treated as ever, as soon as the Ministers have compassed their Ends. I ask the *Princess* if the Removes were resolved upon. She said, 'Yes, but not who is to come in;' so 't is as in the *Triumvirate*,

only the Executions are agreed upon. *Walpole* is
very tenacious, and won't hear of taking Service
under *Sunderland*.

1720.

The *Princess* says we are to trust to them—'t is
their Interest, *Walpole* says, to keep their Words
with the *Prince* and *Princess*—but methinks 't is
a good old English Saying, that the less you
believe, the less you'll be cheated. One must
needs own *Sunderland* has the Ascendant of these
People, and has outjockeyed *Walpole*, though he's
a *Newmarket* Man.

I verily believe *Townshend* and *Walpole* have
agreed for themselves only, exclusively of all the
World. Lord C. has been so sick of the whole
Affair, he goes out of Town To-morrow, to hear
no more of it, and 't is more than Odds, if he is
not pleased with his Treatment, that he will take
me away.

Communion. *Easter Day.* Both *Prince* and
Princess received in their own Chapel. A full
Court afterwards.

Sunday,
April 17.

I came into Waiting, not very well. *Princess*
tells me all goes on well; that the Letter had
been seen by the Ministers. Some Words dis-
agreed to, but that the *Prince* insisted it should
remain as it was. *Bernstorff* knows Nothing of
this, nor do any of the Germans. The *King* in
an intolerable Humour Yesterday. They did not
dare speak to him.

April 18.

In the Morning sent for very early, for *Prin-*
cess Ann was ill. I went, and found the *Princess*

Tuesday,
April 19.

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April 20.

a dressing. She had sent *Perche* to the King to ask Leave to see her Daughter, she being allowed to see her Children but every *Sunday* Night. *P*— brought Word he had spoken to *Mahomed*, who said the King's Answer was, the *Princess* might go, but she must carry neither Doctor nor Physic, for he had appointed *Schezeldart*, and *Sloane*,⁶ if any more was wanted. The poor *Princess* went, and found the Small-pox come out. The little *Princesses* were removed into the Prince of *Wales*' Apartments at *St. James's*, and no Communication between the two Families. We waited all the Day at *St. James's*, and the poor *Princess* left her Daughter at past Eleven o'Clock. The *Princess* very pressing to *Walpole* to have her Children again (but I suppose the Bargain is made, and they must stand to what *Walpole* thinks is for his own Interest). The *Prince* in great Anxiety.

April 20.

The *Princess* twice at *St. James's*, as every Day, from Eleven to Three, and from Six to Eleven. The Service of the Week very hard, being dressed every Day but this. No Opportunity to hear Anything. *Princess Ann* in a very hopeful Way. The *Princess* sent us away from *St. James's*, and we came at her appointed Hour to wait upon her back to *Leicester Fields*.

April 21.

The *Princess* had a Letter from the *Archbishop* Yesterday, to enquire how *Princess Ann* did, and

⁶ Sir *Hans Sloane* was Physician to *George I.*, by whom he was created a Baronet.

to offer to wait upon her. The Servant brought one by mistake from the *Archbishop* to Lord *Sunderland*, which the *Princess* opened, read, and gave me to read. The Contents were, that Princess *Ann* being ill, and he not knowing how soon he might be sent for to do his Duty to the afflicted Mother in her comfortless State, he desired Leave to go as often as he was sent for without troubling him again. The *Princess* said Nothing but ‘Voyez quel Homme!’ and bid me give the Letter to the Servant (and say she opened it by mistake), and at the same Time the Answer to his Letter, which she sent.

Lord *Cowper* goes to *Walpole*, and then to the *Prince*. *Walpole* gives him a Copy of the Letter, altered from its first Original, and the Paragraph interlined is of the Ministers’ putting in. It is to go To-morrow. *Walpole* has agreed to Everything beforehand, and it must be as he says. My Lord *Dorset*⁷ takes my Lord aside at *Leicester Fields*, and enquires into the Success of the Negotiation, and tells him as much as he knows of it.

I begin to find that my Lord is taking a Resolution to come no more into Business.

Princess *Ann* in a very hopeful Way, and not very full.

St. George’s Day, Patron of *England*. At *Twelve* Lord *Lumley*⁸ waited upon the *King* with

1720.

April 22.

*Saturday,
April 23.*

⁷ Lionel seventh Earl and first Duke of *Dorset*, K.G. *Scarborough*; was a Lord of the Bedchamber and Master of the Horse to the Prince of *Wales*.

⁸ The eldest Son of the first Earl of

1720.

the Prince of *Wales'* Letter, and Mr. Craggs⁹ went back with him to the *Prince* with a Message from the *King*. The *Prince* took his Chair and went to *St. James's*, where he saw the *King* in his Closet. The *Prince* made him a short Compliment, saying it had been a great Grief to him to have been in his Displeasure so long; that he was infinitely obliged to *H. M.* for this Permission of waiting upon him, and that he hoped the Rest of his Life would be such as the *King* would never have Caufe to complain of. The *King* was much dismayed, pale, and could not speak to be heard but by broken Sentences, and said several Times, ‘*Votre Conduite, votre Conduite;*’ but the *Prince* said he could not hear distinctly Anything but those Words. The *Prince* went after he had stayed about five Minutes in the Closet, and from thence went to see the two youngest *Princesses*, and after, Princess *Ann*, who was told of the Reconciliation by my Lady *Portland* before the *Prince* came into her.

The *Princess* was gone Home from *St. James's* Time enough to meet the *Prince* going there. She found my Lord *Pembroke*¹ in her Apartment, and went into the Closet with him, and stayed till the *Prince* came back, with the Beefeaters round his Chair, and Hallooing and all Marks of Joy which could be shwon by the Multitude.

⁹ James Craggs the Younger, Secretary of State 1718; accused of Peculation in the South Sea Scheme. Died of Small Pox, February, 1721.

¹ Thomas eighth Earl of *Pembroke*, K.G.

He looked grave, and his Eyes were red and swelled, as One has seen him upon other Occasions when he is mightily ruffled. He immediately dismissed all the Company, and I was ordered to be there at Five in the Afternoon.

At Five I went, and found the Guards before the Door, and Square full of Coaches ; the Rooms full of Company; Everything gay and laughing; Nothing but Kissing and wishing of Joy ; and, in short, so different a Face of Things, Nobody could conceive that so much Joy should be after so many Resolutions never to come to this, as I have heard.

I was called by the *Princess* into the Closet to seal a Letter to the *Archbishop*, who was entirely kept out of this. I wished the *Prince* Joy and Comfort of what had been doing. He embraced and kissed me five or six Times, and with his usual Heartiness when he means sincerely. He said he knew the Part I took in all his good or ill Fortune, and he knew my good Heart so well, he was sure I was pleased with this. The *Princess* burst out into a loud Laugh, and said, ‘So ! I think you Two always kiss upon great Occasions.’

All the Town, feignedly or unfeignedly, transported. I kissed Lord *Cowper* at coming Home ; said to him, ‘Well, I thank *God* your Head is your own, and that’s more than One could be sure of two Months ago.’

A Meeting at *Devonshire House* to settle the

1720.

Ceremonial of going the next Day to *Court*. The *King* could not be brought to see the *Princess* that Night, and said, when he was pressed to it several Times, ‘*L’Occasion se trouvera*.’

This Thing was carried on at *Horace’s*² Lodging, who lives in a By-place, and keeps but one Servant, which was always sent out of the Way upon these Occasions.

The *Speaker* was in another Scheme with *Carlton*,³ *Harcourt*, *Atterbury*,⁴ *Trevor*, and all the Tories.

A third little Scheme was a carrying on at this Time by *Bernstorff* with *Chandos* and the moderate Tories.

A fourth little Scheme was laid down between *Lechmere*, *Bolton*, *Cadogan*, and *Roxburgh*.

In short, there was not a Rogue in Town that was not engaged in some Scheme and Project to undo his Country.

The Debts of the Civil List were to be paid by the Bubbles. *Walpole* had not got so much as he wished in the *South Sea*, and so he was resolved to make up his Mouth now, and the two Insurances were the Things he pitched upon. They were to give 600,000*l.* for the Discharge of those Debts. Insurance was so low that *Walpole* and *Craggs* bought in vast Sums at four-and-a-half.

² *Horace Walpole*, Brother of Sir *Robert*, afterwards Ambassador at *Paris*. Secretary of State.

³ *Henry Boyle*, Lord *Carlton*, once Se-

⁴ *Atterbury*, Bishop of *Rochester*.

Bernstorff, nor *Bothmar*, nor none of the Germans, knew of this except the Duchess of *Kendal*, whom English Money and an English Title had made true to the English Ministers. 1720.

Stanhope came up to the two German Ministers in the outward Room, and said in French to them, in his shrill Scream, ‘ Eh bien ! Messieurs, la Paix est faite . . . la Paix est faite.’

B.—‘ Les Lettres sont-elles arrivées ? ’

S.—‘ Non, non, c'est la Paix ici. Nous allons revoir notre Prince.’

B.—‘ Notre Prince ? ’

S.—‘ Oui, notre Prince, notre Prince ; nous l'attendons pour être réconcilié avec le *Roy*. ’

B.—‘ Monsieur, vous avez été bien secret dans vos Affaires.’

S.—‘ Oui, oui, nous l'avons été, . . . le Secret est toujours nécessaire pour faire les bonnes Choses.’

Bothmar could not bear the Insult, nor the being given up by his old Master, and burst into Tears, which was very faithfully reported to the Prince and Princess.

The King very hardly brought to see the Prince when proposed to him. He said, ‘ Can't the Whigs come back without him ? ’

The Prince and Princess not to live in the House with the King—the true Reason because the King won't bear it—so 't is artfully made a Merit to the Prince to be suffered to stay where he is. The King told that the Whigs don't

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1720.

desire any Places, only to be Friends again. He said, ‘What did they go away for? It was their own Faults.’

Every one of the *Prince's* Friends at *Court*, to wish Joy.

Sunday,
April 24.

Lord *Cowper* came to my Bedside, and said, ‘My dear Girl, I am come to let you the first into my Secrets. I have, with you, thought to take Service again, and by that show them, though I was not originally in this Thing, yet I think a Reconciliation so right and so necessary, that I will help to making Everything in its own Condition again. And I did think to accept of that Offer made me of my Friend *Kingston's*⁵ Place, who has behaved himself so shamefully ill to me, that it was a Piece of Justice upon him; but upon further Considerations, all the Reasons of my Quitting subsist still, except the unfortunate Breach in the Royal Family. I am old and infirm, and rich enough, and I have resolved not to enslave myself to any Power upon Earth. At Five-and-fifty 't is Time to think of making Life easy; my Infirmities will not let me struggle with Knaves and Fools. My Tranquillity will content me more than all they can give me under their Power and Influence.’ I said all I could to dissuade him, and told him that the World would say he was in a Pet at his not having the Doing of the Reconciliation.

⁵ *Evelyn Pierrepont*, Duke of *Kingston*, Father of Lady *M. W. Montague*, was Lord Privy Seal.

Lord *Cowper* replied he had Thoughts of that too, and found any Reproach better than the Loss of his Tranquillity; that he told this as his positive Resolution, not to ask Advice, and that he designed to show that he was not out of Humour by asking for the Key for me which had been promised me, and would take a Place in the Cabinet if they would summon him, but neither Office nor Pension, for he was resolved to live a Freeman and an Englishman, and let them have no Hold of him in any Occasion.

1720.

The Whigs of the late Cabinet all met at *Devonshire House* to wait upon the *King*, as had been agreed the Night before at a Meeting to settle the Ceremonial. The Duke of *Devonshire* made the *King* a short Speech in the Name of the Rest (which had been made for him the Night before; *God* having made him a very honest Man, but no Speechmaker). The *King's* Reply was so low, few of them heard it; those who did, said the Main of it was to say he was glad to see them all united. After which they came out of the Closet, and then waited on the *King* to Chapel. The *King* went to Church a Quarter of an Hour sooner than usual; the *Prince* was by that coming upstairs when the *King* went in. He followed, but they spoke not to one another, nor looked at one another all the Time, which caused many Speculations.

When the *King* came out, the *Prince* stood by him. The *King* spoke to most People except

1720. — the *Prince*: they two only looked grave and out of Humour.

The *Princess*, as usual, with Princess *Ann*, who is almost out of Danger. *Walpole* told her the Secretary had been with him, to say the *King* would see the *Princess* in the little *Princesses' Apartment*; so I was ordered to come by Five, the *King* not having appointed his Hour, which accordingly I did, and found the *Princess* dressing the *Prince* in the Room, who stayed all the Time till the *Princess* went to *St. James's*.

The *Prince*, *Princess*, and myself alone. The *Prince* says he told *Argyle* he might see he (*the Prince*) was no Scoundrel; for he now made up for himself and all his Friends whom he brought in with him. ‘And now,’ said he, ‘I have the Comfort of having done well; for if in this Time I had given up my Friends, by G——! it had broke my Heart, and before this Time I had died; but now I can bring my Friends in with Honour. We have drove them to this Peace, — in the *Commons*, and Lord *Cowper* in the *Lords*, for Nobody else has stirred, and the first and greatest Blow was in the Affair of C., which Lord *Cowper* did against the Consent of all my Friends, who were Cowards on the Bout; but now is the Time to reward them, and I hope soon to see Lord *Cowper* have the Seals again.’ I made a Curtsey, and said, all the Praife was charming, more so than the Reward; that Lord *Cowper* had found the Seals so

burthensome, I believed, he would never think of it.' Says the *Prince*, 'He must. All my Friends must be restored, for I won't come in among my Enemies; and I shall want him and his Assistance more than Anybody's.' I said, 'I don't know, Sir, what your positive Commands may do, but I'm sure Nothing else will.'

1720.

Lord *Cowper* more confirmed in his Resolution.

The *King* came into the little *Princesses*' Apartment about Six. The *Princess* was in the front Room to receive him, and my Lord *Grantbam*⁶ and I as Attendants; and he brought the two Turks with him. The *King* and *Princess* went into a little Closet, where they stayed an Hour and ten Minutes, during which Time the Turks stayed with us. *Mabomed* entertained us with the Praise of the late Queen of *Prussia*, Sister to the *King*, who died at *Hanover* of two Days' Sicknes, suspected of having been poisoned, before she left *Berlin*, with Diamond Powder, for when she was opened her Stomach was so worn, that you could thrust your Fingers through at any Place, as did *Mabomed*. The *King*, he said, was in such Sorrow, that he was five Days without eating or drinking, or sleeping, but kept walking and wailing all the Time, and by hitting his Toes against the Wainscot (which he ever does when he walks), he had worn out his Shoes till his

⁶ *Henry de Naffau Auverquerque*, second Earl of *Granham*, Lord Chamberlain to the *Princess*. His Daughter and Heiress married *William* second Earl *Cowper* in 1732.

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1720. Toes came out two Inches at the Foot. He refused to see Anyone till *Mabomed* found the Duke of *York* in the outward Room, and carried him in without asking Leave. As soon as he saw the Duke of *York*, he flung his Arms about his Neck, and said, ‘Quelle Perte venons-nous de faire, mon Frère! . . . est-il possible que cette charmante Femme nous puise quitter en si peu de Temps?’ When his Passion was a little over, they got him to Bed, and so, by degrees, brought him to Busines again.

The *Princess* came out transported at the *King’s* mighty kind Reception, and told the Doctors and Everybody how mighty kind he had been to her.

Walpole told my Lord that the *King* was very rough with the *Princess*—chid her very severely in a cruel Way. He told her she might say what she pleased to excuse herself; that she could have made the *Prince* better if she would, and that he expected from henceforward she would use all her Power to make him behave well.

Monday,
April 25. The *Princess* saw the Ladies in the Morning. Lord *Grantbam* in Waiting. All the Cabinet to wait upon the *Prince*, and, I think, all the World beside. We were ordered to go at Night into the Drawing-room.

A Reconciliation Dinner at my Lord *Sunderland’s*; six old Ministers, six new. Lord *Cowper* one of them.

Duke of *Kent* with the *Princess* above two

Hours. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* stayed to see the *Princess*, but could not. He left his Excuse with me, and said he had received a Letter on *Saturday* from the *Princess* (which was the One I sealed), to tell him of the Reconciliation; and that she would have told him sooner, but that she did not know it till the Night before.

1720.

Mrs. *Wake*⁷ afterwards told me the Contents of the Letter, which was that she did not know a Word of this till the Day it happened. And yet, although she had heard it talked of, she had no more Reason to suppose it would come to Anything than all the Reports of Reconciliation ever since the Quarrel. That the Morning she met the *Prince* in the *Pellmell*, and was so frighted, thinking he had heard ill News of the *Princess Ann*, that she stopped to tell him how she had left her, and asked him where he was going. He answered, ‘To *St. James’s*.’ She said, ‘I hope you have no ill News of *Ann*, whom I have just now left?’ He said, ‘No; I am going to wait upon my Father.’ That this struck her, not knowing Anything of it, and that she was more so when she saw him return with his Guards, of which she sent to give the *Archbishop* Notice, being sure of the Part he would take in this good News.

At Night in the Drawing-room, though my Face was swelled: it could not be put off. The *King* spoke not to the *Prince* nor none of his

⁷ Wife of the *Archbishop*.

1720

Friends but the Duchess of *Shrewsbury*, who spoke once in vain; but the second Time she said, whingeing, ‘Je suis venue, Sire, pour faire ma Cour, et je la veux faire.’ It happened Lady *Essex Robartes* was in the Circle when our Folks came in, so they all kept at the Bottom of the Room, for fear of her, which made the whole Thing look like two Armies drawn up in Battle Array; for the *King’s* Court was all at the Top of the Room, behind the *King*, and the *Prince’s* Court behind him. The *Prince* looked down, and behaved prodigious well. The *King* cast an angry Look that Way every now and then; and One could not help thinking ’t was like a little Dog and a Cat—whenever the Dog stirs a Foot, the Cat sets up her Back, and is ready to fly at him. Such a Crowd was never seen, for not only Curiosity but Interest had brought it together. It had been used to keep the Drawing-rooms so empty for some Time, there was hardly six Women at once, to show the Necessity of a Reconciliation, and that the People were disgusted.

Walpole made the *Prince* send a Message by him to —. The *Prince* refused, and would not. *W*— said, ‘If you won’t, I will make such a One as is fit for you to send, and carry it in your Name. I am sure when I have done you will thank me.’ He did as he said, and the *Prince* thanked him when it was over.

Walpole has undertaken to make the *Prince* do Everything the *King* pleases. The *Prince* knows

Nothing of this, but thinks he governs Every- 1720.
thing.

Walpole to make up his Mouth by a Bubble,
because he did not get enough in *South Sea*.

The *Prince* and *Princess*, especially the *Princess*,
in Transports of Joy. *Bernstorff* here. He care-
fully avoids talking of any News, and neither says
he did nor did not know of this Thing.

Great Crowd of Ladies above Stairs at *Court*. *Tuesday,*
Great Crowd of Men below. *April 26.*

At Night at the French Play with Duchefs of
Sbrewsbury. Everybody took Notice of the Scene
of the Drawing-room.

Madame *Kielmansegg* ill, and could not go to
the *Princess* when she saw Company. She had
applied before, but the *Princess* sent her Word,
'que toutes Choses se faisoient par Ancienneté, et
que par conséquent il falloit que la Duchesse de
Kendal vînt la première.'

Kielmansegg had been left quite out of this Se-
cret. She had been out of the Ministry's Favour.

At *St. James's* with Madame de *Montandre*.⁸
The *Chancellor* there. The *Princess* laughed, and
said, 'I dare say, Lady *Cowper*, you are glad to see
the Purse in that Hand?' 'Yes, truly, I am right
glad to see it in that Hand, and I wish that Hand
may hold it till it is as weary of it as ours was.'
The Chiefs had been there the Day before, and
because the *Chancellor* was not to *s'encanailler*,

Wednesday
Morning,
April 27.

⁸ Wife of the Marquis de *Montandre*, one of King *William*'s old Officers, who
was made a Field Marshal in 1739.

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1720. he came alone, and a very little While after, the Mob of the Cabinet, with little *Kent* at their Head, who looked of all Sort of Colours, except that of Health. They put me in Mind of the Ballad:—

For my Lord Privy Seal, and my Lord President,
The one Duke of *Kingston*, the other of *Kent*;
Newcastle, Roxburgh—these are such Things
That *Pinky*⁹ would starve if he showed them for Kings.
Which Nobody can deny.

There was *Kent, Newcastle, Bolton, Kingston, Roxburgh, and Craggs*. The Duke of *Bolton's* Tongue was out, as when we left the *Court*, and I can't but remark that the only Things I found as we left them was his Tongue lolling out of his Mouth, and Lady *E. R. [Essex Robartes]* standing in the very Place of the Circle in the Drawing-room where I left her.

Lord *Cowper* continues in his Resolution, and says he intends to speak to *Walpole*. He designs to go out of Town.

This Affair has been two Months in Hand. It was by Concert with *Sunderland* that the *Prince* was received so very coldly.

At Night, *Radamitus*, a fine Opera of *Handel's* Making. The *King* there with his Ladies. The *Prince* in the Stage-box. Great Crowd.

Thursday,
April 28. Lord *Cowper* goes out of Town.
The *Prince's* much importuned by *King* to take

⁹ Probably one of the *Penkethmans*, who were successively Owners of a Booth at *Bartholomew Fair, &c.*

Duchess of *St. Albans* again. It is also said the Salary is to be but 800*l.*, and many other Things of that Kind, said for me to hear, that it may not be asked. ‘Put not thy Faith in Princes, nor in any Son of Man,’ says the *Psalmt*.

1720.

Bernstorff mightily out of Countenance. He had been quite left out of the Thing; and though he had no Mind to appear quite disgraced, yet he did enough to show the great Anguish and Anxiety of Mind he was under. He hinted that the Reconciliation would not go so far as was designed by both Parties. He said he had been with the *Princess*, who had received him kindly; that she said, ‘You always agreed with your old Friend, Lord *Cowper*.’ ‘Yes,’ says he, ‘in Everything but two: he left us much against my Will, and he went to the *Court* when I would have had him neuter.’

Prince at Chapel. Time enough before the *King* went. Observed the *King* did not speak to him. The *Princess* not there. If she don’t go to the Drawing-room To-morrow, I fear People won’t believe the *King* received her kindly.

Sunday,
May 1.

Princess not willing to give the Key to me. Pretends Lady D.¹ will be disengaged and quit. When the *Princess* promised it to me, she offered it herself, and said that the *King* had asked it for ——; but she answered, that ‘after the Obligations I have to my Lady C., None but she can ever have the Key.’ To which he replied, ‘In-

¹ Probably Lady *Deloraine*.

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1720.

deed, Madam, 't is true when One reflects upon it; it is her Due, and I ask Pardon. I am in the Wrong.'

How comes Lady *D.* to be disengaged now, when it was refused her thus? Does flying about at *Richmond* with the *Prince* make this necessary?

The *Princess* knew of this Affair long ago—long before the *Prince* did—as *Walpole* says, who durst not tell him till about the Time first mentioned in the Paper.

They raise a new Clamour for the Duchesses of *St. Albans*, and the *King* is to send a Message of it.

I am quite sick of this Usage.

Monday,
May 2.

Lord *Cowper* comes Home. Goes to the *Princess*. Waits an Hour. Don't see her. *Sunderland* there. She writes an Excuse at Night, and bids Lord *C.* go next Day.

The Drawing-room full, as usual. The *King* don't speak to the *Prince*, and looks ill at all the People.

Tuesday,
May 3.

Lord *C.* at the *House of Lords*. Consideration of the *Calico Bill*² to be put off for six Weeks.

² There are some Particulars about the *Calico Bill* in the *Political State of Great Britain* for May 1720. The Bill was entitled, 'For the preserving and encouraging the Woollen and Silk Manufacturers of the Kingdom, and for the more effectual employing the Poor, by prohibiting the Use and Wearing of printed, stained, or dyed Calicos and Linens, except such as are of the Growth and Manufacture of Great Britain and

Ireland.' On the 28th and 29th of April, the *Lords* had heard Counsel for and against the Bill, but on May 3rd they wished to put off the further Consideration of the Bill for six Weeks. At the same Time, to allay the Murmurings of the Silk Weavers, they ordered that an Address be presented to His *Majesty*, to order the Commissioners of Trade to prepare a Scheme to carry out the Intents of the Bill, and to be laid before

The Weavers very discontented ; People assaulted by them in the Streets that are dressed in Calico. Lord C. invited to a Ministry Dinner at *Newcastle's*. Does not intend to go. It is not consistent with his Health.

1720.

In the Afternoon Lord C. goes to the *Princess*.

She very angry with *Sunderland* for proposing an Establishment for the little *Princesses*, and *Prince* and *Princess* to pay for it. He says the *King* will give Lady *Portland* a thousand Pounds a Year Pension here to do Nothing ; or if she will go to *H. [Hanover]*, fifteen hundred Pounds a Year there. The *Princess* said she was rich enough to pay all those that served her faithfully. She disliked the Impetuosity and Insolence of *Sunderland*, whom she said was worse than ever.

Lord C. would have taken an Occasion to ask the Key for me, but she did not give him the least Handle, but avoided giving the least Opportunity to speak of any such Thing. The *Prince* not to be sole Regent. She says he won't accept otherwise. We shall see how it will be when *Walpole* sets himself to persuade her.

'T is sure now this Reconciliation has been hatching these three Months, though *Prince* nor *King* knew Nothing of it, nor does the *King* know any Particular of the Agreement yet.

Parliament in the following Session. To this His *Majesty* assented on the following Day, which was the more expedient as that same Morning 3,000 Silk Weavers, &c., came in a riotous Manner to *Westminster*, and it was necessary to call out

some Detachments of the Life Guards and the Train Bands of the *Tower Hamlets*. The Mutineers, however, committed no further Disturbance than tearing off a few calico Dresses from some of the Women who fell in their Way.

1720.Wednesday,
May 4

The *Princess* was let into it by *W.* from the Beginning, and it was from that that Anybody that loved her this Winter said Anything for her Service, she would laugh in their Faces, and say she feared Nothing and wanted Nothing, and bid them learn Courage from her.

A world of Discontents among People that have been zealous on both Sides, and that are dropped.

Great Hugging and Kissing between the two old and two new Ministers. They walk all four, with their Arms round one another, to show that they are all one.

My Lady O. [*sic*] all Day constantly to play and laugh with the *Prince*, and bring Intelligence. One of *W.*'s [*Walpole's*] great Arts to please the *Princess* has been by making her a Stockjobber in the *South Sea*. They bought in for her that very Morning before the great Debate, and it was used to the M. of P. [Members of *Parliament*] as Arguments they (the *Prince* and *Princess*) were both for the Project.

Since they subscribed at a hundred and fifty—he twenty thousand, she ten—many Members of Parliament were struck out for this; and they were told they must submit, for *Prince* and *Princess* had so much they could not help it; and at length many People had this said to them, and consequently were made Enemies—they losing so much certain Profit to enrich those whom they thought did not want it.

To-day a Message to the *House of Commons*

from the *King*, to say *Onslow's* and *Chetwynd's* Bubbles³ had been so well recommended by great Numbers of Merchants and other substantial People, and appeared so beneficial to Trade, that he desired they might be incorporated; and that the Civil List being in Debt, they had offered six hundred thousand Pounds, which he desired might be applied to the Payment of those Debts.

1720.

These Bubbles *Walpole* and *Craggs* had engaged in. They would hear no other Proposals, though others offered double which these did; and *W.*, at a Meeting of *Commons* the Night before, had openly said to *Poult*. [*Poultney*]: ‘By *G*—! Sir, I tell you we will hear no Proposals, for these will do.’

Prince says, since he has helped to do this, he expects the same to be done for him when he is King. Whether he wants it or not, to what Purpose will be the fixing the Civil List after this Example?

*Wharton*⁴ at *Newmarket* has lost a great Sum of Money: some say 13,000*l.*

³ These ‘Bubbles,’ as they are termed here, were two Insurance Companies, one of which was headed by Lord *Onslow*, and the other by Lord *Chetwynd*, and they were doubtless the same as the ‘Insurances’ mentioned already on P. 144. The Lords *Onslow* and *Chetwynd* had been negotiating with the Ministry for Charters for the Establishment of their respective Companies, and had offered 600,000*l.*, 300,000*l.* for each Company, in the event of the Charters being obtained. The *King*, as above stated, sent his Message of Assent to the *House of Commons* on

the 4th of *May*, and a Bill was ordered to be brought in to enable him to grant Letters of Incorporation. See the Particulars in the *Political State of Great Britain* for *May 1720*. The two Insurance Companies were both incorporated on the 24th *June*, 1720; the Statute in favour of them having received the Royal Assent fourteen Days before. (*Anderson, Origin of Commerce*, vol. iii. P. 101.)

⁴ ‘*Wharton, the Scorn and Wonder of our Days*,’ was created Duke of *Wharton* in 1718. Soon after he had received

1720.*Thursday,
May 5.*

The Bubbles fall, notwithstanding the of the *Prince*. A Meeting in order to raise it. Sir John J. and my Uncle *Allanson* voted Yesterday against the *Court*.

*Shippen*⁵ upbraided *Walpole* terribly in the Debate with having chid the Committee of Supply for fear of such an indiscreet Method as this to raise Money, and now with moving and helping the *Court* to it in this Manner. He spoke long, and very well—the better for being in the Right.

The Ministry, to all Appearance, will certainly quarrel with the *Prince*, and use him and the *Princess* ill after they have got the Money, if they don't do Everything they would have them.

Friday.

Saw the *Princess*. Very angry with *Bernstorff*; says he made the wretchedest Figure when with her. He was more in countenance with the *Prince*. Insinuated they should not forget who turned *Townshend* and *Walpole* out; that he hoped they would make up with C.

Craggs had been with the *Princess*, and makes many Professions and tells many Lies. He says he was not for taking the Children from the *Princess*. He said the Quarrel had been made by Under-servants, who had reported abundance of Things, which they said were true; that for the

his Dukedom, he went over to the *Pretender*, and became a Roman Catholic, retiring at last into a Spanish Monastery, and dying there in 1731.

* 'Downright *Shippen*', as he was called, one of the Leaders of the Jacobites in the *House of Commons*, made

several such Speeches about this Time, one of which did 'much gravel Mr. Secretary *Craggs*', and several of them are quoted in *Tindal's Continuation of Rapin*; but the one above mentioned, of May 5, is not among them.

Ministers, he would answer they had never done any such Things; that their Complaint against the *Prince* was, that he spoiled and opposed the *King's* Affairs; and they used to say to the *King* that the *Prince's* Friends were like a Battalion that broke through all their Measures: 'And perhaps,' says he, 'I myself have been one of the Foremost to say it, it being true.' She said, 'I was told you had condescended so low as to call me a B—h;' at which he began a Volley of Oaths and Curses of the Falseness of the Assertion, for so long a Time, and with so much Vehemence, that she said to him: 'Fie! Mr. *Craggs*; you renounce *God* like a Woman that's caught in the Fact.' He talked of sending the C. Home, but was not clear in the Manner, nor Anything.

M. [Memorandum.] His Intrigue with Madame *Platen*. The *Prince* at the Drawing-room. The *Princess* told me the *King* received her very kindly, and said, 'Vous êtes la bien-venue, Madame. Je suis ravi de vous voir ici. On y voit dès à présent que vous êtes dans le Drawing-room.' After talking a great While to her, he asked her to play. She said, 'Is it your Majesty's Commands I should?' He said, 'Yes; not only now, but I would have you always play, as you were used to do.'

The *Princess* presented *Alvarez* to the *King*, who talked a great deal to him. She made him tell the *King* a Turkish Story.

This Day *Walpole* moved an Address of the

1720. *House of Commons* to the *King*, to thank him for his Care of the Insurances, and for taking their Money (in effect)—a Flattery only fit for the Reign of *Tiberius*.

Saturday. *Alvarez* dines here. At Night at Madame G. A new Persecution, arising from the Princess of *Wales* taking C. without asking Leave of the *King*, which Lord *Sunderland* says she promised, and would never take Anybody without first having his Leave.

Baron *Bernstorff* here. Covers his Ignorance of what's a doing by saying he would not know. Says that most of the Articles promised will not be kept, for they dare not tell the *King* what they have promised. That they would have him help to keep the *King* here, but he won't meddle. He was a little more in countenance, and more easy and cheerful, but One might plainly see what passed in his Heart. Vain Condition of a wise Man, whose Wisdom can't put him above the undeserved Frown of an old Master he had long and faithfully served, and who now deserted him for the most worthless and profligate Men the World had ever produced.

Mem. He said *Walpole* ‘avoit fait à merveille,’ for he had moved the Address in the *House of Commons*.

Sunday. Lord *Cowper* went to Chapel. The *King*, the Prince of *Wales*, and the Princess of *Wales* there. Dumb Show between the *King* and *Prince*. The *King* does not speak to Lord *Cowper*: looked

strangely out of Humour and confounded. The Prince of *Wales* followed him into his Room—
1720.
not spoke to at all.

*Lecbmere*⁶ out, Lord *Cowper* tells me, who apprehended he had gone out of the Window again; but it seems it was out of his Place.

Duchess of *St. Albans* comes to ask Advice about the Key. Says the Princess of *Wales* would never take it from her, and that she has it locked up in her Cabinet, and advises if she shall ask to wear it, or stay till she is bid. Marvellous! What could provoke the Princess of *Wales* to offer it to me, who did not ask for it, if she had it not in her Power to give it. To what Purpose such Dissimulation as this, which, when once known, must give so low an Idea, both of One's Sincerity and Understanding?—for this, of all others, is the most foolish Step ever was taken in such a Case, to offer what One could never give, unasked. Sure, she thought me a tame Fool, who minded not her Interest at all, and who, consequently, was to be easily imposed upon; and that Lord *Cowper* was modest, and would never push it forward if he found any Difficulty in obtaining it for me. The Germans used to say the Princess of *Wales* was ‘grandissime Comédienne.’ I say No. If Actors ever played their Parts in such a Manner, they would be hissed off the Stage, and must starve. This Dissimulation shows how simple such Arts are,

* See *ante*, Page 119.

1720.

for, instead of having its Effect, it has disobliged the two very best Friends the *Princess* ever had ; and who, if they had had any Dissimulation themselves, must have found the *Princess* out before. No Talk of Places. The great Thing is obtained in the Money on one Side, and on the other the Advantage of going to the Drawing-room, and of being used as ill as Lord *Sunderland* pleases, which Last has undoubtedly taken Care to betray his Master for at least thirty Pieces of Silver. 'T were well would he follow the whole Example, and hang himself.

The *Prince* does not see he is betrayed, but is guided by the *Princess* as she is by *Walpole*.

The *Princess* in Transports of Joy at the imaginary Success of her Court Arts—much below the Understanding and Capacity *God* has given her. But I have often observed, One may live so long among simple People, that One lets down One's Understanding so low, not to frighten them, that at last One quite loses it. The old wise Man said, 'Tell me thy Company, and I will tell thee what thou art.' If so, One can easily judge what *D. P.*, *G.*, *B.*, and *H. H. R.* will produce, added to *G.*'s Sincerity *pour tourner les Choses*.

Lady *Powlett* asks me if I know when the Duchess of *St. Albans* is to wait. I answered, 'I don't know if she is in.' 'Yes,' says she ; 'a Relation of hers told me To-day she was never out.' And yet the *Princess* never would take

the Key from her, which she has now locked up 1720.
in her Cabinet.

In the *House of Lords* Lord Stanhope wished Lord C. Joy of *Lecbmere's* being out. He replied, 'My Lord, 't is you that must be wished Joy upon this Occasion. I have Nothing to do with him, so his being in or out is a Matter of Indifference to me. But your Lordship has to do with him, and I'm sure Everybody that has must be glad to be rid of him.'

Craggs told the *Princess* that he was the Man propos'd taking the Children away, and so he should be put out for that Thing. To how many Uses does the turning out of this Man serve to !

Archbishop Wake with the *Princess*. He stayed ^{Wednesday,}
but a little, for she was going to the Opera; but ^{10.}
repeated some Parts of the Conversation he had. He said to her, 'Madam, we must now wish ourselves and the World Joy. First, of this happy Reconciliation ; and next of the Honour and Integrity, the Disinterestedness of the Ministers, as well as their profound Wisdom and Virtue. They would be matchless for *King* and *Prince*, if they were not equalled by the two great Governors of this *Court*, *W.* and *T.* [*Walpole* and *Townshend*]. What glorious Things must we not expect from the Conduct of the First in the Ministry, and the two Last here ! What Happiness for the People to be under such Directors ! and how glorious a Figure we must

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make, all the World over, when we are influenced by such Counsels!' She looked out of Countenance at this, and said, 'No, sure, my Lord; *T.* and *W.* are not our only Advisers. Pray, what do you make of your Friend Lord *Cowper*? ' 'If you go to that, Madam,' said he, 'pray what do you make of him? Come, come! in truth he is not at all fit for an Adviser, or to be put upon the Level of those great Men. He may make One to assent to what they have first agreed on among themselves, and then let him into.' Somebody scratched at the Door, and she said, 'It's the Dukes of *St. Albans*, coming to torment me about the Key.' 'And will she have it?' says he. 'No, never,' says she. 'You would have more Charity than I take you to have,' said he, 'if she should have it.'

Thursday,
11.

Go to see *F. G.* She enquires after what they are doing, and believes them sincere. She will have some Cause to be sure of the Contrary, or I am deceived.

The Dukes of *Shrewsbury* made me wait for her this Afternoon.

Sunday,
14.

Lord *Cowper* at Chapel. *King* don't speak to him, more than to the *Prince*.

Monday.

Lord *Cowper* with *Bernstorff*. Finds him in his Garden. A good deal of free Talk.

Wednesday.

In the Morning Lord *Cowper* with the *Prince*. Tells him his Design to go into the Country and take Nothing. *Prince* said several he heard were of the same Mind, the Duke of *Devon-*

shire, and ——, Men of the same Opinion. He dropped to a Piece of Advice that Lord C. gave him, that he would consult his Friends about it, and speak to Mr. *Walpole* of it the first Time he saw him. Same Morning Lord C. went with me to Duchefs of *Kendal*, who received him very civilly.

Bernstorff to Lord C., in pretty good Humour and Countenance. Seems upon better Terms than ordinary, but accused Lord C. of running away without giving him Notice. I told him I did not go so soon; so he promised to come to me the following *Sunday*, which he did.

Lord *Cowper* into the Country for good. Leaves me to make ready. *Alvarez* dined with me, and brought *Remond* with him.

Busy packing all Day.

In the Evening I went to the *Princess*. I had not been in a Minute before — came in with a Physic Book, and whispered the *Princess* that Mr. *Walpole* wanted to speak with her. She gave me the Book to write out three Pages of a large Octavo, when I had got a violent Headache, and had complained to her of it. I took it, and went to write, till I grew so sick I could bear it no longer, and was forced to give over, and excuse it to the *Princess*, and —, who only wanted to employ me whilst she saw Mr. *Walpole*. The *Princess* asks Lord *Cowper* what was the Meaning of his going into the Country. Lady *Cowper* said, ‘To avoid Importunity, and be quiet.’ ‘And,’ added

1720. the *Princess* to me, ‘what makes you go so soon?’
‘Because he commands, Madam; and I have Nothing to do but obey.’ The *Princess* was going to Lord *L.*, and bid me follow, who was forced to go Home, and then meet the *Princess*, to go to the Drawing-room with her Family. I did not stay it out, but went to sup with *R.* at *M. G.*’s. Nothing was more evident than the Transports of Joy in which the *Princess* was with this new Acceſſion of Flatterers, and Mr. *Walpole* had so poſſeſſed her Mind, there was no Room for the leaſt Truth.

Saturday,
21. They went to *Richmond*. I would have gone to *Lambeth*. The Water was so rough, I durſt not.

Sunday,
22. I had a Visit from Baron *Bernstorff*. He was with the *King*. Said he thought Lord *Cowper* in the Right not to take Office in ſuch Company, but hoped, if it was changed, he would lend his Aſſiſtance to the *King*. I ſaid, ‘Not among theſe People; and there was little Hopes they would be changed.’ Baron *Bernstorff* ſaid, ‘Not ſo; for they go on ſo madly; and from Abroad as well as from Home, there are ſuch universal Complaints, it is impoſſible to go on; and the *King* begins to be ſenſible how he is uſed.’ I ſaid, ‘Whenever that happens, and if the *King* truſts Baron *Bernstorff* again as he did, I dare anſwer Lord *Cowper* will take Anything Baron *Bernstorff* ſhall command him; but ſure they are now too ſtrong.’ He ſaid, ‘That’s a Miſtake; and the next

Change we must reform the Error we have been in to let the *Secretary of State* be Master instead of Servant.' 'This will remind you,' said I, 'that it was Lord *Cowper's* sincere Opinion that it was more the *King's* Interest to have a Treasurer than the Treasury in Commission; and now you see it. All the vile Things that will happen from this Project of the *South Sea* had not happened if there had been a Treasurer; for no one Man durst have taken that Load upon himself which this Treasury in Commission has divided: and if the *King* will ever be happy and prosperous, he must make a Treasurer; but he must have both Disinterestedness and Sincerity, and make Mr. *Clayton* Chancellor of the Exchequer, and I'll pawn my Head all will go right.' He listened, and then said, 'But your Treasurer has such unlimited Power here in *England*, that One can't think of it as endurable.' I said, 'What do you think of the Power of the Earl of *Sunderland*? I have seen several Treasurers, but None with the Authority and unlimited Power of the Earl of *Sunderland*. The Earl of *Oxford* never had the Quarter of the Power, nor the Insolence, that Lord *Sunderland* has.' Baron *Bernstorff* paused, and said he had, and would, with Pains and Insinuation, make the *King* Master of the very ill Consequences that this Project of the *South Sea* brought, and spoke in a Manner I have never heard him since *February* (17¹⁶₁₇), which plainly showed he thought himself in a very good Situation. He said a world

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1720. of kind Things of me, and told me he would see me at my Return.

Monday,
23. Go into Country. Nothing material there.

Friday,
27. I return to *London*, to go to the Birthday and wait the Week following. I went to pay my Duty to the *Princess*, and waited with Dr. *Clark* till the *Master of the Rolls* was gone from her.

Saturday,
May 28. The Birthday of our most gracious *King*. In the Morning we waited on the *Princess* to *Court*, where was one of the greatest Crowds I ever saw, it being greatly increased by our new Lords and Masters of the *South Sea*, who had much more Court made to them than the Ministers themselves.

At Night we all went in the same Train. The Duke of *Newcastle*⁷ had got drunk for our Sins; so the *Princess's* Ladies had no Places, but stood in the Heat and Crowd all the Night. The Duchefs of *Shrewsbury* downright scolded aloud about it, and he told her, for Conclusion, that Places were provided for the *Princess's* Family, which they did not keep, but that Ladies of the Town came and took them. "T was not his Fault; and he could not turn out the Ladies of the Town for us. There was so great a Crowd, and we were so ill used, that four of us went away, and left only Lady *Dorset*⁸ in Waiting. It was plain we were to be used thus; and I am almost tempted to think it was also one of the doughty Articles of Reconciliation.

⁷ The Duke of *Newcastle* was at this Time Lord Chamberlain.

⁸ *Elizabeth Collier, Countess of Dorset*, a Lady of the Bedchamber.

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Kendal and *Kielmansegg* very civil to me.

1720.

Newcastle stood before me both Morning and Night. If I had not seen his Face, I should have known it had been him, it being his Peculiar ever to turn his Back upon those he has any Obligations to.

Dined with Aunt *Allanson*. Go to the *Master of the Rolls*. The Servants got so drunk, I was forced to send one of them Home.

Sunday.

Begin my Waiting. Great Crowds at our Court this Morning. The Waiting much longer; we are not released till half-an-hour after Three. The *Princess* in high Delight with the Folks, and they as much with her. No Opportunity to speak of Anything. I am ordered against Eight at Night to go to the young *Princesses* before the Drawing-room. At Night the *Princess* went as she designed, and had a great Mind to be out of Humour with me, and put on a Frown. When the *King* spoke to the *Princess*, he turned his Back to me who was playing. But a sudden Curiosity took him, and he turned his Face round, and had his Eyes fixed upon me, and looked all Night so intently, and was not angry, that it was talked of.

Monday,
30.

The *Princess* said to me that —— had been with her that Morning, and said that the *King* could not help liking me as well as ever; and that she saw plainly by the *King's* Manner last Night that I could do what I pleased, and that it was my Fault if I did not rule them all. I an-

Tuesday,
31.

1720. fwered, for the Thing itself, I did not believe it at all ; and, supposing it were true, Power was too dear bought when One was to do such dishonourable Work for it.

In the Morning I waited. A good deal of Company. The Talk is that l'Abbé *du Bois*, Archbishop of *Cambray*, made some Representations to the *King* against Laws which he did not like, and that the Reprimand he had got went so far as two or three good Kicks.⁹ It proved a Lie ; but had it been true, how would the *King* have helped himself if the new-made Archbishop had excommunicated him ? — for in that Church the Priest pretends to that Power. In the Afternoon the *Prince* and *Princess* went to the French Play. A most dismal Performance. No Wonder People are Slaves who can entertain themselves with such Stuff.

Baron *Bernstorff* with me by Appointment. He complains grievously of the Ministry, and is in better Heart than before the Reconciliation. He hopes for a new Ministry. I said, by Order of Lord *Cowper*, to him, when Baron *Bernstorff* pressed Lord *Cowper* to take Service, that he had no Objection to it, provided it were a Whig Ministry, but if he quitted these, and came into any new Scheme, it must be a Tory Ministry. In short, to be plain, if Earl *Cadogan* and Duke *Chandos* were to propose the Scheme, it must be

⁹ The Story was probably told of *Dubois* was at this Time a Child of ten Years and the *Regent*. The King *Louis XV.* old.

Tory, and he would not take Service with Lord *Harcourt* and Lord *Trevor*, and all that Set of People; that such a Scheme must end in Baron *Bernstorff's*, and the *King's*, and the Kingdom's Ruin, and that, like a good Friend, he gave him this Notice; but if the Ministry continued to be Whig, and the *King* restored to Baron *Bernstorff* his Friendship and Power, he had no Objection to take Service. I said, 'You see now your Error. When the *King* is to be happy, it must be from returning to the Place from whence you came out of your Way. Let the *King* make an honest Treasurer, and make Mr. *Clayton* Chancellor of the Exchequer, and all will be well.' Baron *Bernstorff* replied, 'The Thought is not bad; and one Reason Everything has been so wrong is, that the *Secretary of State* is Master instead of Servant.' I asked if Mr. *Walpole* was to be Lord of the Treasury. He said, 'No; sure the Earl of *Sunderland* won't give up that: but Everything goes so madly, both at Home and Abroad, I can answer for Nothing.' He said that Princess *Ann*, Princess *Amaly*, and Princess *Caroline* would remain with Lady *Portland*; and, as the Judges had declared the Right the *King* had to their Education, they might perhaps be with the *Princess* in Summer, but when the *King* returned he would expect them again.

At the French Play. News came Princess *Amaly* was ill. The *Princess* went from thence to *St. James's*, and found her pretty well. At

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1720. Night I supped with Madame *Kielmansegg*, with *R.*, *M.*, and Madame *M.*, Mrs. *Clayton*, Mr. *Hilten*, and Mr. *Plaisance*. One buys these Honours very dear, by the late Hours One has to keep.

Wednesday. Waiting in Morning.

Thursday. Morning in Waiting.

Evening the *Princess* went to Princess *Amaly*, who is very well again. Sup at Madame *G.*'s with *R.*

Friday. Morning in Waiting.

I dine with Mrs. *Clayton*. Am left by Chairmen and Servants—all drunk. I can hardly get to the *Princess*.

In the Afternoon Lord *Lovat* came to me. Says that the Ministry is very low. Baron *Bernstorff* will never cease till he has got the Better. He extols the *Baron's* Love and Esteem for Lord *Cowper* and myself.

Afternoon the *Princess* went first to Princess *Amaly*, and then to the Drawing-room, which was very long, and not over full. The good *King* said not a Word to the *Prince*, nor any Soul belonging to him, but his *Princess*. He looks as if he would take the very first Opportunity of leaving them all.

Saturday. Waiting in the Morning. At Night None, so had the Afternoon to myself. Made Visits. Sup at Duchefs —— with Madame *K.*, *R.*, *Plaisance*, and Le Comte de *Laval*, *Remond*. having begged a Play of the *Princess*.

Diary of Lady Cowper. 175

The *Princess* at Church twice this Morning.
After Chapel she went into the Drawing-room,
and so Home, which concluded my Waiting,
never having had any Opportunity to say one
Word to the *Princess* alone without the Door
being open.

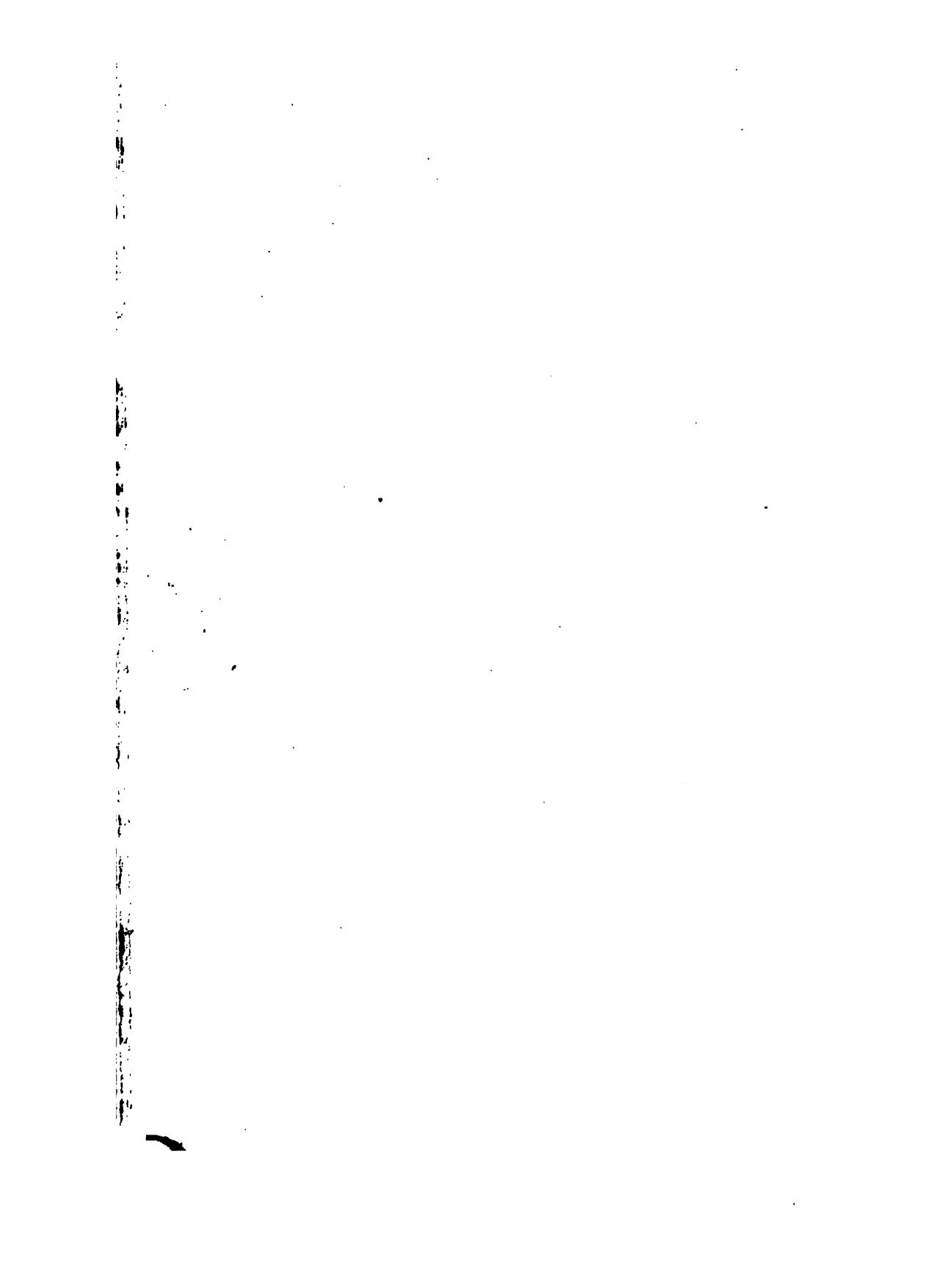
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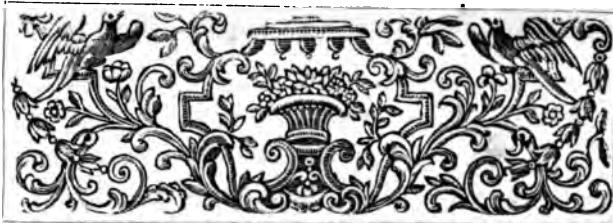
Sunday,
July 5.

When Mrs. *Wake* came to take her Leave, before the *Archbishop* went his Visitation, she said to Mrs. *Wake*, ‘Our Children we shall have, and the Regency they promise us, but the Last I don’t believe; and I tell you naturally, my dear Mrs. *Wake*, I will venture my Nose we shan’t have it.’ I was pulling on her Gloves, and said, ‘Yes, Madam; if your Highness had thirty Noses you might venture them all without the least Danger to them.’

Friday.







APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

Duchess of Marlborough to Duchess of St. Albans.

I beg your Pardon, dear Madam, that I could not write sooner, being at Dinner with Company. In all the Courts that I have seen, the *Groom of the Stole* has the first Place, and next to her the Lady in Waiting, whatever Quality she may be of, and after them two all the Ladies are placed according to their own Titles.

I am, &c.,

S. MARLBOROUGH.



APPENDIX B.

Lord Bolingbroke to his Father.

Tursday.

Yours of *Tuesday* came to my Hands last Night. Be pleased to depend on what I told you in *London*, and to have no Concern on that Head. I not only never signed or writ such a Letter as is supposed, but I never directly or indirectly [*had Dealings*] with that Person, or with any Man living or dead, in his Behalf. I had not an Opportunity of making my Court to the *King* before his Accession, but I was always as true a Friend to his Succession as any of those who clamoured the loudest, and a better than some of them. It is hard to answer in this perfidious dissembling World for what any Man has done or may do, but I am confident my Lord *Harcourt* is as innocent as I know myself to be. We have often conversed in the utmost Confidence together during the *Queen's* Time, concerning what was likely to happen after her Decease. He was, in his Opinion, the most concerned I ever saw a Man that our Whole depended on the inviolate Preservation of our legal Settlement, and I remember particularly that he used to lament, just before Her late *Majesty's* Death, that we should be branded as Jacobites if she died soon, without having the least Share of that Guilt.

A thousand Thanks for your speaking to *Lord Treas-*

surer, and for all other Instances of your Care and Tenderness.

I have Letters from *Wotton*,¹ and Accounts by the Servants I sent thither, neither of which please me at all. I shall write more fully to you in a Day or two, on this and other Subjects.

¹ *Lydiard*, his Country Seat, was near *Wotton Baffet*.



APPENDIX C.

*Letter from Lord Cowper to the King on the breaking out
of the Rebellion in 1715.*

Sire,— I would not trouble your *Majesty* in this Manner but on some very great Crisis, as I take the present to be, when I should desire not to be in the least mistaken by a sudden Interpretation.

On your *Majesty's* receiving certain Advice from *Scotland* of an open Rebellion, not only begun but declared there, and even Hostilities commenced.

I own my Concern to find Nothing moved to be considered but whether Circular Letters should not go to the *Lord Lieutenant*, &c., to seize Papists and Nonjurors in the North of *England*. Your *Majesty's* Attorney and Solicitor were both of opinion with me that the Law doth not warrant the Import of such Letters. The *Chief Justice* did not give an Opinion either Way.

Two or three Precedents were found in the Council Books of such Letters, which were indeed Strains of the Law, in hopes of some good Effect, which always failed.

However, the most of your *Majesty's* Council were for making the Experiment once more, and to that I refer myself to have it seen what Fruits it will produce when the Returns come to be made, if any.

It was agreed that the Method I preferred, of learning the Names of all the great Papists and Nonjurors in the *North*, and taking them up and securing them by

Warrant of six Privy Councillors, or a Secretary of State, in virtue of a plain Law made on purpose this Session, should be likewise practised. And lest the using the first insufficient Remedy should, as is usual, slacken the making Use of the true, I humbly beg your *Majesty* to remind your Servants that this be done forthwith, and effectually done, since the former Method will take up only the inconsiderable People, if any, and be longer in doing also.

But what seems to me to be the more important and natural Consideration on this News from *Scotland* is, whether the Forces now in *Scotland*, or going thither, are probably sufficient to stop the March of the Rebels, and if not, whether the Consequences of that are not bad enough to require some Augmentation wherever it can be had, without exposing too much this Part of the Kingdom.

As to the first, I think your General or the *Secretary-at-War* should state plainly before your *Majesty* in the Cabinet, what Number of effective Men are now or will be in a short Time of your Forces in the Field; and then, by comparing that Number with what the Rebels will probably march, or your *Majesty*, by the next Advices, may hear they have got together, a Judgment may be formed on that Point.

If your *Majesty's* Forces are found insufficient to stop the Rebels, I humbly think your Troops there should be immediately augmented, by all Means consistent with the not leaving this Part of the Kingdom so unguarded as to invite an Insurrection or Invasion to be made here.

For it seems certain that if any Disgrace befall your *Majesty's* Troops in *Scotland*, Insurrections will immediately follow in *England* in many Places, and probably the *Pretender* will be encouraged to land here too.

On the other Hand, if the Rebels get no Advantage in *Scotland*, my Conjecture is, there will be no considerable Rising in *England*, and I take it to be much easier to prevent Commotions in *England*, by securing the Rebels shall make no Progress in *Scotland*, than it will be when any Success of the Rebels in *Scotland* shall have made many Insurrections to break out in *England*, to find Means to suppress them.

The Scotch magnify their Danger something, and perhaps press for more Assistance than can be reasonably spared from hence. But I beg Leave to assure you I cannot but observe the prevailing Inclination here is to supply the Forces there but too sparingly, and as on the one Hand it would be extremely wrong to draw the Bulk of your *Majesty's* Forces to that End of the Kingdom, so on the other the not making the Duke of *Argyle* strong enough to secure himself against a Defeat, or a Necessity of retreating, or of letting them go by him towards the *South*, will thoroughly involve *England* in a Civil War, of which None can answer for the Consequences, and therefore I humbly advise that this great Point should be thoroughly stated and considered by all such as have the Honour at any Time to advise your *Majesty*.

Extract of a Letter from Baron Bernstorff to Lady Cowper.

London: Sept. 28, 1715.

Le *Prétendant* se tient encore ferme à *Bar*. Il ne veut pas venir ici avant qu'on lui fasse voir un 'Party' qui se puisse maintenir. Pour assembler ce Party, *Ormond*

et *Bolingbroke* devoient venir dans le *West*, mais les Prises que l'on a faites, et qui découvrent tout le Complot, semblent les déconcerter extrêmement, surtout puisque la Rébellion en *Écosse* va d'une Manière à ne pas leur promettre de grands Succès.

Extract of a Letter from the Duchess of Marlborough to Lady Cowper.

London: Oct. 1, 1715.

I hope this will find my dear Lady *Cowper* much the better for the country Air, and the Happiness of being so long in the Company you like in Quiet. The Last is what can't be had in this Place, and I fear it will yet be worse before it is better; for my Lord *Stair* says, in his last Account, that the Duke of *Ormond* is gone with a few Servants post from *Paris*. The Duke of *Berwick* was seen the Day before, which is all that is said of him in Lord *Stair's* Letter; but another Person has given an Account that he had lately pawned his Jewels and Plate. My Lord *Stair* had no Notice of the *Pretender* being gone from *Bar* when he writ, but the Duke of *Ormond* may have better Intelligence of his Motions, and if he is not yet removed, that would agree with other Intelligence that he will not come to us till his Friends are in some Order here to receive him. I don't find that the News from *Scotland* is so bad as some reported, and I am apt to believe the Duke of *Argyle* aggravated that Matter a good deal; for at the very same Time that a very terrible Account came from His *Grace*, I saw a Letter from the Postmaster of *Scotland*, which said our Enemies there were

not above 2,600, and there is no Certainty of any Numbers that have joined them since; but from so many Men having escaped being secured, and the Duke of *Ormond* having left *Paris*, I fear we shall soon hear of some Rising. They say the Duke of *Somerset* is at *Petworth*; but before he went he did what Service he could to our Enemies. When I see my Lord *Townshend*, I shall have a great Mind to desire him to compute what Good and what Mischief the Duke of *Somerset* has done since our Friends shook Hands with him. I have sent this Morning *Hodges* to get Mr. *Wymondesold* to advise what is to be done with the Bonds; for that of the *South Sea*, which is for 2,100*l.*, is not worth so much by 2 or 300*l.* at this Time, and upon the Duke of *Ormond's* Landing, or any Disorder, all Stocks will fall very much, and, though I am not so much frighted as to part with my own, I think I should not run the Hazard of other People's for 5 per Cent. Interest, which I agreed with Mr. *Wymondesold* to take upon the first Money he paid me at 6, though I did not change the Security.

(Signed) S. MARLBOROUGH.

Mr. G., the Jeweller, was with me just now, and told me there was 28 Men sent to *Newgate* last Night out of *Convent Garden* Parish.

One may write Anything by the Post very safe, as long as Mr. *Craggs*¹ is in the Office.

¹ This was the elder *Craggs*, Postmaster-General.

Letter from John Johnson, Esq., to Henry Liddell, Esq.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Oct. 9, 1715.

Honoured Sir,—A great many Gentlemen and Others, to the Number of 300, or thereabout (most whereof are Papists), are now in Arms, and last Night lay at *Warkworth*. We are informed they are for seizing the Militia at *Killingworth Moor* on *Tuesday* next, and take from them their Horses and Arms; for my Lord *Scarborough* giving so long Notice as 14 Days for the Militia and Train-bands to rise, they took this Opportunity of rising first.

They are believed to have proclaimed the *Pretender* at a Place called *Rothbury* last *Thursday*. Mr. *Robert Lisse*, who was with them, came to Town last Night very privately, and Alderman *White* and I being at *Pandon Gate* (the Rest of the Gates in Town being all barricaded), immediately ordered him to be seized and carried before the Main Guard, and he is now in *Newgate*. Ten Keel-boats (two whereof are mine) are ordered for *North Shields Fort*, to bring up the Cannon, to prevent their being seized by the Rebels, who designed to batter the Walls of this Town with them. *Tinmouth Castle* is very well fortified against them. I don't question but we shall keep them out here till such Times as we get further Assistance, most People in Town being better inclined than thought of. Mr. *William Cotesworth* and I, with much Ado, this Day se'nnight got the Train-bands up here, otherwife I am apt to believe they would not have been up till the 11th Instant, according to Lord *Scarborough's* Orders, in which Time the Town was designed to be

surprised. Alderman *White* joins with Mr. *Cotesworth* and me, and is very zealous and hearty. Sir *Charles Hotham's* Regiment is expected here, upon their Rout for *Berwick* (but hope, through the Insinuations of Lord *Scarborough*, to keep them here till further Orders from the Government), three Companies whereof are expected on *Tuesday*. I am this Day raising the *Poße Comitatus*, to prevent the Rebels further strolling into this Country, and am in Expectation thereby entirely to secure this Town, which they so much aim at, expecting a great many Friends at their Entrance. I am very credibly informed from *Rothbury* that the following Persons are amongst the Rebels, viz., *Thomas Forster*; Earl of *Derwentwater*, and his Brother; *Philip Hodson*; the Chief of *Beaufort*; *Clavering of Callalee*; *Clavering of Berrington*; *John Talbot*; Chief *Collingwood* of *E*—; Mr. *George Morrison*; *Ephraim Selby* of *Bittleston*, and his Steward, *D*—; *Philip Walker*; *William Shaftoe* of *B*—, and three more *Shaftoes*; *Thornton* of *Netherwitton*; *Charleton* of the *Bour*, and his Son; *Widdrington* of *Cold Park*. *Liske* informs me that my Lord *Widdrington* joined them Yesterday at *Warkworth* with about 20 Men.

(Signed) JOHN JOHNSON.

*Extract of a Letter from William Cotesworth, Esq., to
Henry Liddell, Esq.*

Gateshead: Oct. 11, 1715.

We got the Town of *Newcastle* put into a State of holding out against 2,000 Men, if they come without a

Train. On *Monday* Sir *C. Hotham's* Regiment came in. Yesterday Colonel *Liddell* mustered above 1,200 Horse and Foot out of the East and West Divisions of *Chester Ward* on *Gatehead Fell*. The County Horse and part of our Posse Horse marched this Morning into the *Shield Field*. The Militia Horse for *Durham* are to march to *Gatehead* To-night. Sir *William Williamson* has called upon me to talk about their continuing here. I was this Morning with my Lord *Scarborough*, and have proposed that the Militia Horse of both Counties, as soon as my Lord *Cobham's* Dragoons come up, shall join with them, and as many other armed Horse as we can get, and go out and drive the Rebels into the Sea, for they lie down by the Sea-side. I have promised my Lord, that if but 20 Gentlemen in our County will go upon this Expedition, I will make one. This, I am sure, is the Way to strike Terror into all the Enemies of our happy Constitution and Government.

What these Rebels hoped for was that the High Church would have joined them, and no doubt there was but too good a Disposition in some People to it. They talk now of a great Number of Horse and Foot they expect will join them from the South of *Scotland*; but our Communication is in a great Measure cut off, so that the Ministry is the best Judge of the Strength of the Duke of *Argyle* and *Mar*. The Recorder of *Newcastle*, the lately-made Serjeant, was keeping the Earl of *Derwentwater's* Courts when the Lord of them was in open Rebellion against his Prince. I find it is always a Work of Time for me to persuade my Friends I can discern men. I should tell you that Dr. *Sacheverell's* Brother is a Preventing-Officer between *Shields* and *Sunderland*, which is a dangerous Thing, in my Opinion. I have taken a good deal of Pains to have Sir *W.*

Blackett secured from going over to the Enemy. *T. Wilkinson* is now with him at *Wallington*. I do not think it advisable that he be seized till we are in a more quiet or secure State.

Extract of a Letter from John Johnson, Esq., to Henry Liddell, Esq.

Newcastle: Oct. 16, 1715.

The Enemy have entered *Morpeth*, and from thence marched to Lord *Derwentwater's* and *Hexham*, where they still continue. We daily expect *Cobham's* Dragoons, but are afraid the Rebels will march into *Lancashire* and quit this Country before we can give them Battle. They plunder None as yet, but seize Horses and Arms. Lord *Derwentwater* and *Tom Forster*, our scandalous Member, give out that my Under-Sheriff shall hang me, and one of my Bailiffs my Under-Sheriff; but such Menaces I value not. I know my Cause is good, and will venture my Life and Fortune and lay down my all for His Majesty King *George*. A Spy of mine met with a Scotchman fourteen Miles beyond *Carlisle*, who had seen my Lord *Kenmure* with about 200 Horse on *Friday* last, going to join the Rebels in this Country. Upon the three Messengers coming down for Lord *Derwentwater*, I ordered four of my trustiest Bailiffs to attend them. They traced my Lord into his House about 7 o'Clock at Night, and searched next Morning by 6, but could not find him. This occasions me many Threats from the Papists, who

are mightily affronted that I should order my Bailiffs to assist the *King's* Officers in apprehending so great a Person and Rebel.

Letter from John Johnson, Esq., to Henry Liddell, Esq.

Newcastle: Oct. 23, 1715.

I am informed that the Rebels who were at *Wooler* crossed the *Tweed* at *Coldstream*, and joined the Rebels that came over the *Firth*, and continue there in full Rendezvous, taking all the Horses, Saddles, and Arms they can meet with. They design to pres the Duke of *Argyle's* Camp on this Side, whilst Lord *Mar* does the Like on the other. It's thought advisable by General *Carpenter* that Sir *Charles Hotham's* Regiment of Foot and two Regiments of Dragoons shall march for *Scotland* To-morrow, in order to strengthen *Argyle's* Camp, and the Regiments that are upon march are to follow; but he has ordered a Regiment of Foot, who are likewise upon march, to stay here till further Orders, so that at the present we shall have the Guard of the Town to ourselves. The Soldiers were very uneasy for their Clothes. Major *Green* came to my House on hearing that the two Ships that brought their Clothes and Bayonets were arrived at *Tynemouth*, and desired my speedy Assistance. On this I sent two Keel-boats, double-manned, to *Shields*, who brought up the Clothes this Morning; but the Ship that brings the Bayonets, &c., is not yet arrived, so that they'll be obliged to march without them. The Rebels are, I am sorry to

acquaint you, as strong as 1,500. Another Regiment of Dragoons is expected here on *Tuesday*. We hear Nothing certain, as yet, of the Dutch Forces, but hope by this they are arrived in *Scotland*. I hear Lady *Crew* is dead, but could have wished it had been his *Lordship*, for as long as we have such Bishops we can't expect good Clergy, a great Part of this Trouble being occasioned by them.



APPENDIX D.

Letter from George I. to the Prince.

La première Lettre que je reçois de votre Part, mon Fils, est sur des Sujets aussi peu dignes de vous que de moy. A l'égard du Duc d'*Argyle*, j'ay eu de bonnes Raisons pour faire ce que j'ay fait sur son Sujet, mais je ne scay ce qui vous est moins désavantageux, d'avoir été induit par luy ou d'autres à faire le Pas que vous venez de faire, ou bien, de l'avoir fait par votre propre Mouvement. Vous aurez de la Peine à redresser cette Démarche dans le Public. Quand on en fait de pareilles l'on n'est pas en droit d'accuser mes Ministres de me faire des Rapports désavantageux, et c'est le Monde renversé quand le Fils veut prescrire au Père quel Pouvoir il doit luy donner; ce n'est pas non plus un Motif de mettre le Destin de mes Ministres et autres Serviteurs à la Merci de votre Modération. Il ne paraît pas aussi, à la Conduite que vous avez tenue pendant les Séances du Parlement, que vous avez si peu de Friandise, comme vous le dites, pour le Gouvernement, vous mêlant de Choses qui ne vous regardoient pas, et ne vous empêchoient pas de pouvoir être tranquille. Je voudrois scavoir quel Droit vous aviez de faire des Messages à la Chambre contre mon Intention. Est-ce à vous de faire des Clauses aux Dons que je fais au Public? Vous dites à cette Occasion que vous avez voulu soutenir l'Autorité

royale, mais qui vous en a donné le Soin ? Vous conviendrez que quand on n'est pas responsable ni chargé d'une Choise on ne doit pas s'en mêler. Il s'agit présentement du Duc d'Argyle, lequel, malgré ce que j'ay été obligé de faire à son Sujet, vous voulez soutenir et garder à votre Service, en montrant par là à tout le Monde que vous vous opposez à mes Sentimens. En même Temps vous assujettissez à votre Caprice le Retardement du Voyage que j'ai le dessein de faire. Je demande que vous mettiez Fin à tout cela, et que vous satisfassiez aux Propositions que M. de Bernstorff vous a faites de ma Part. Vous empêcherez de cette Manière les Démarches que je feray indispensablement et contre ma Volonté nécessité de faire pour soutenir mon Autorité. Voilà ce que j'ay à vous dire en Réponse à votre Lettre. Je souhaite que vous en profitiez, et que vous vous mettiez en État de mériter mon Amitié.

GEORGE R.



APPENDIX E.

Letter from J. Clavering, Esq., to Lady Cowper.

Hanover: July 7, 1716.

I cannot express the Surprise we are in here at Mademoiselle *Schulenberg* being naturalised and made an English Duchess. The Countess de *Platen* is mightily mortified, for you must know we have two Parties here more violent than Whig and Tory in *England* (which are the *Schulenberg* and *Platen* Factions). Madame *Kielmansegg* writes here that she's very unwilling to give Place to the new Duchess; therefore she will petition *Parliament* to be naturalised, that she may have a Title equal to the Other.

His Czarian *Majesty*¹ did us the Honour to pass by *Hanover* twice, and stayed two or three Days at *Herrenhausen*, a Country House of the *King's*, about an English Mile, so I had the Honour to eat at his Table several Times, which I was not very ambitious of, for he never uses Knife nor Fork, but always eats with his Fingers, never uses a Handkerchief, but blows his Nose with his Fingers; therefore you may guess how agreeable it is to be in His *Majesty's* Company. He has a Scotch Gentleman with him, Cousin of the late Lord *Mar*, who is both Chamberlain and Physician (but a rank Jacobite), who

¹ What follows is of a piece with the Experiences of *Evelyn* and of the Austrian Secretary of Legation, recently translated by Count *Macdonnell*.



told me that Lord *Wharton* had promised the *Czar* to go with him as Volunteer when he makes the Descent in *Schonen*. His Lordship has received a great many Presents from the *Landgrave*—a gold Snuff-box, with his Picture; 7 fine brown Horses for a Coach; two others to ride upon. He lives very magnificently at *Cassel*; has 6 Footmen, a running Footman, a Valet de Chambre, a Secretary (for he will not allow People to call him his Governor), two Sets of Coach-horses, &c. All this is to be done out of 1,000*l.* a Year, which is his Allowance. I am certain if he lives two Years he will spend every Farthing he has in the World.

Extract of a Letter from J. Clavering, Esq., to Lady Cowper.

Hanover: Sept. 4, 1716.

I supped with the Duchess of *Munster* last Night, when we drank my Lord's and your Health. I go there very often, and must own I have not been so civilly treated by Anybody here as by her and her Family. Since the King's Arrival from *Pyrmont* we have a Drawing-room every Night at *Herrenhausen*, in the Greenhouse, which, with walking in the Garden, is very pleasant. His *Majesty* was very much indisposed for the three or four first Days after he came, having lost his Stomach, and not sleeping, but now, thank *God*, is very well. Lord *Peterborough*¹ has been here five Days. He

¹ The famous *Charles Mordaunt*, Earl of *Peterborough*. See Swift's Verses:—
'Mordant fills the Trump of Fame.'

He was noted for the Rapidity with which he travelled.

came from *Venice* here in nine Days, only to see the *King*, and will return there in the same Time he was coming. He told us the *King* lived so happily here, that he believed he had forgot the Accident that happened to him and his Family the 1st of *August*, 1714. Madame *Kielmansegg* tells Everybody she designs to return to *England*. Mademoiselle *Schulenberg* is gone to drink the Waters of *Emps* (*sic*). We English here live very sociably, dining with Mr. *Stanhope* very often, whom we put at the Head of us.

Extract of a Letter from J. Clavering, Esq., to Lady Cowper.

Dec. 15, 1716.

Mr. *Wortley Montague* and his Lady¹ are here. They were so very impatient to see His *Majesty* that they travelled Night and Day from *Vienna* here. Her *Ladyship* is mighty gay and airy, and occasions a great deal of Discourse. Since her Arrival the *King* has took but little Notice of any other Lady, not even of Madame *Kielmansegg*, which the Ladies of *Hanover* don't relish very well; for my Part, I can't help rejoicing to see His *Majesty* prefer us to the Germans.

¹ Lady *Mary W. Montague*, Daughter of *Evelyn*, Duke of *Kingston*, was born in 1690. Married to *Edward Wortley Montague* in 1712, and died in 1762. She was admired by both *George I.* and his Son.

*Extract of a Letter from the Duchess of Marlborough to
Lady Cowper.*

Bath : Sept. 3, 1716.

The Duke of *Marlborough* is, I thank *God*, better than he was when we left *St. Albans*, but I think he wants a good deal yet of being well. However, one is told every Day of so many People that have been much worse than he ever was, and have recovered, either by Time or these Waters, that it gives One great Reason to hope. My Lady *Grandison* is one great Instance. She told me the other Day that she understood or spoke but very little for a great While, and one of her Hands was dead and withered, which is now filled out like the Other, and Nobody would think she ever had had the Palsey.

I am very glad of a Victory so much to the Honour and Advantage of Prince *Eugène*,¹ whose Friendship to the Duke of *Marlborough* alone is enough to make me wish him well. I am very sorry for the Account which you give of your Health, which I have always feared would not be mended by being at *Court*. I don't wonder that you find it melancholy to be away from your Lord and Children ; for though the *Princess* is very easy and obliging, I think Anyone that has common Sense or Honesty must needs be very weary of Everything One meets with in Courts. I have seen a good many, and lived in them many Years, but I protest I was never pleased but when I was a Child, and after I had been a Maid of Honour some Time, at Fourteen I wished myself out of the *Court* as much as I had desired to come

¹ *Peterwardin* and *Temesvar*, two great Victories over the Turks, were gained by him in 1716.

into it before I knew what it was. Her Grace of *Shrewsbury* is here, and of a much happier Temper. She plays at Ombre upon the Walks, that she may be sure to have Company enough, and is as well pleased in a great Crowd of Strangers as the common People are with a Bull-baiting or a Mountebank. I have been upon the Walks but twice, and I never saw any Place Abroad that had more Stinks and Dirt in it than *Bath*; with this Difference only, that we are not starved, for here is great Plenty of Meat, and very good, and as to the Noife, that keeps One almost always awake. I can bear it with Patience, and all other Misfortunes, as long as I think the Waters do the Duke of *Marlborough* any Good.

The following Letter of Lady *Cowper*, first printed and published in *Notes and Queries*, Feb. 4, 1865, was found among some Papers of the Family of *Conningby*, formerly of *Hampton Court*, in the County of *Hereford* :—

The Writing is in a neat female Hand upon gilt Letter-paper of a small Size, and it had an Envelope, which, with the Address, is lost. On the upper Part of the fourth Page, about the Middle, is this Endorsement :—

‘ First I ređd frō my Wife, formerly M^rs *Clavering*, having been privatly marryd to her without Confusmⁿ by w^{ch} it appears I judged rightly of her Understanding I hope also of her other good Qualitys: j was not induced to the Choice by any ungovernable Desire: but I very cooly and deliberately thought her y^e fitteſt Wife I could have to entertain me and to live as I might when reduced to a private Condition wth w^h a Pson of great Estate would hardly have been contented. *W. C.*’

' Sept^r 21, 1706.

' My L^d—

' I'm this Minute come to Town, and y^e first Thing I met wth was y^r Letter, wth y^e welcome good News of y^r being got safe to y^r own House. I'm very much concern'd y^t you shou'd meet wth so bad a Journey, but more so at y^r having given me a Testimony of y^r Affection to me, w^{ch} might possibly endanger y^r Affairs so much as y^t of *Wednesday* wou'd do shou'd it be suspected. I shall take all y^e Care I can to prevent it, but at y^e same Time you must give me Leave to tell you, y^t had I known it before I wou'd have put it out of y^r Power to have made me so dangerous a Complim^t, however unhappy I had made my Self by it. I can't help taking Notice of y^e Satisfaction y^t Pt of y^r Letter gave me where you seem to believe y^t Greatness is no Temptation to me: You are very just to me in y^t Particular, for now I may tell you y^t no body but you cou'd ever have tempted me to break y^t firm Resolution (as I thought it) w^{ch} I had made of never marrying whilst I liv'd. All y^e Return I can make to you is to assure you y^t it shall be y^e whole Busines of my Life to study w^t will be agreeable to you, and endeavour by an intire Obedience to make you as happy as it is in my Power to do, since I am wth y^e greatest Sincerity

' y^r affectionate Wife
and most obedient humble Serv^t

M. Cowper.

' my Lady *Wood* thanks you
for y^r Letter and is y^r
humble Serv^t
You dont tell me if you carry'd
M^r *Cowper* down wth you.'



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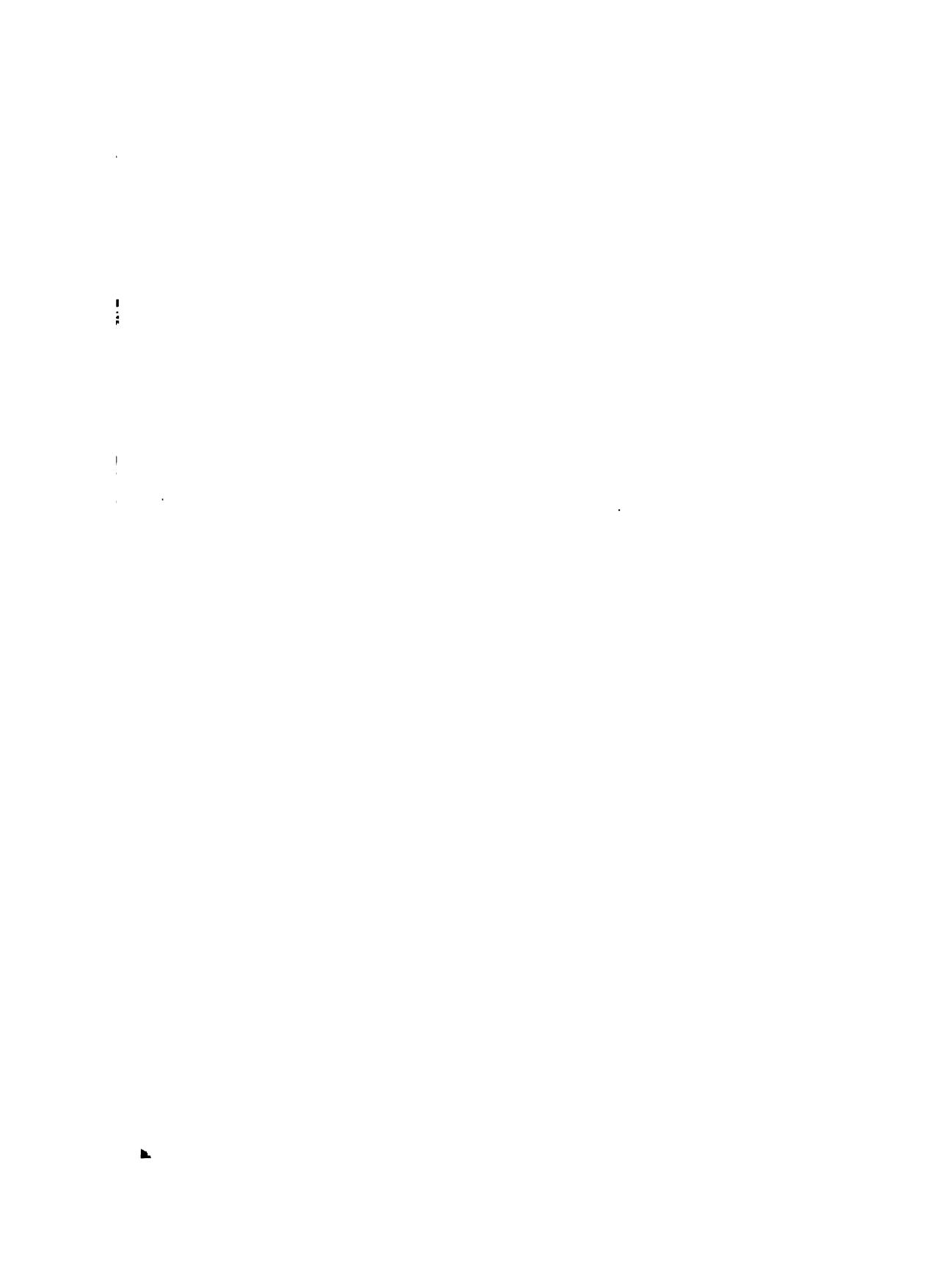
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